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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CHAUCER 1908-1924

Compiled by

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PREFACE

This bibliography has been compiled to provide students in colleges and graduate schools with a usable book for the study of recent Chaucerian criticism. For this reason, the articles and books which have appeared since the publication of Miss Eleanor P. Hammond's *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual,* Macmillan, 1908, have been gathered together and listed, we hope, in a convenient form. Some books and articles published before 1908 have been included because they have been significantly reviewed since that date and a few omissions from Miss Hammond's *Manual* have also been listed. The most valuable aids in this work have been Professor John E. Wells', *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* and the bibliographies of the Modern Humanities Research Association, 1920-24. There has been no effort to make a critical bibliography or to satisfy the need of scholarship which will be met when Miss Hammond has completed the promised revision of her book. We have tried to keep in mind only the need of the student and to call to his attention articles and supplementary material which otherwise might be overlooked in his study. Miss Hammond's *Manual* should be consulted however, at the beginning of each investigation.

As this book was in preparation, it became more and more evident that recent Chaucerian scholarship had presented the points of view of the older studies and also that it had developed some new points of emphasis. Students of Chaucer's life have brought new records to our attention and, while retaining historical accuracy, have revealed many facts related to the poet's activities and his associates. Most important, perhaps, of the recent points of view has been this study of Chaucer's life by seeking information in regard to his associates and the extension of this method to literary, historical, and social backgrounds. In this way, we have gained a larger understanding of Chaucer's text, of his attitudes toward the thought of his time, of his relations to foreign literary movements, and of his artistic method in the creation of a significant body of poetry. The sections of this bibliography entitled Chaucer's Life, Literary Relations and Sources, and The Backgrounds of Chaucer's Time, seek to introduce the student to work of this kind so that he may become familiar with its content and method. Such training, we believe, will prepare him to make further investigations.

Another significant emphasis of recent scholarship has been the study of Chaucer's idiom and vocabulary in order that the poet's exact meaning may be better known. The forthcoming Chaucer Concordance, of which Professor John S. P. Tatlock is editor, will also give an added impetus to these investigations. Believing that the student gains much valuable knowledge by analyzing the language and the metrics of selected passages from Chaucer, we have cited linguistic notes under the separate works and have prepared the sections

entitled Editions with Introduction and Notes, Language, and Metrics. Many blank spaces have been provided for the convenience of the student in making notes and additional entries.

The number of items in this bibliography, being as it is mainly a list of articles appearing during a few years, testifies to a very general interest in the greatest of our medieval poets. This interest in Chaucer grows upon the individual with the acquisition of knowledge of the poet and of his times. It is a profitable pleasure to study Chaucer's literary art, to learn of the problems involved in the separate works, and to analyze the methods of different scholars in the treatment of these problems. It may be that neither the scholar nor the student will solve the problem, but out of the study will come a fuller understanding of a master of poetry.

For preliminary work in compilation, I owe much to the friendly enthusiasm of the eighteen students in my Chaucer Seminar at the University of Washington during the summer of 1925. Mr. N. B. Beck, M.A., University of Washington, now of the University of Montana, has been especially helpful in checking the references. To Dean Frederick M. Padelford and to Professor Allen R. Benham, I am under obligations for kindly assistance while the bibliography was in progress.

Corrections or additions to this study will be very gratefully received.

D. D. Griffith

University of Washington.

Seattle, Washington
November, 1925.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A Anglia: Zeitschrift für englische Philologie. Halle: Niemeyer.
AB Beiblatt zur Anglia. Halle: Niemeyer.
Acad. Academy. London.
AJP American Journal of Philology. Baltimore, Maryland.
Angl. Forsch. Anglistische Forschungen. Heidelberg.
Arch. Archiv für das Studien der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen. Braunschweig. Berlin.
Athen. Athenaeum. London.
Cbl Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland. Leipzig.
DLz Deutsche Litteraturzeitung. Berlin.
DNS Die neueren Sprachen. Marburg.
ES Englische Studien: Organ für englische Philologie. Leipzig: Reisland.
GRM Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschriften. Heidelberg.
JEGP Journal of English and Germanic Philology. Urbana, Illinois.
Jsb Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie. Leipzig.
Litbl. Litteraturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie. Leipzig.
MHRA Modern Humanities Research Association. Cambridge, England.
MLN Modern Language Notes. Baltimore, Maryland.
MLR Modern Language Review. Cambridge, England.
MP Modern Philology. Chicago, Illinois.
Neophil. Neophilologus: A Modern Language Quarterly. Groningen—The Hague. New York.
NQ Notes and Queries. London.
PMLA Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. Editorial and Business Offices, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.
Pbl Polybiblion. Paris.
PQ Philological Quarterly. Iowa City, Iowa.
Rev. In the text indicates "Reviewed."
Rev. Crit. Revue Critique d'Historie et de Litterature. Paris.
Rev. Germ. Revue Germanique. Paris.
Rom. Rev. The Romanic Review. New York: Columbia University Press.
SP Studies in Philology. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
SPCK Society of the Promoting of Christian Knowledge. London.
TAPA Transactions of the American Philological Association. Boston.
TLS Times Literary Supplement. London.
Trans. Transactions.
Univ. University.
ZFEU Zeitschrift für französischen und englische Unterricht. Berlin.
ZföG Zeitschrift für österreichischen Gymnasien. Vienna.

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PART II.

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For pilgrimages and shrines, see Coulton and Jusserand under the section entitled Backgrounds of Chaucer's Time: General and also the section entitled Religious above.

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ADAM

A RELIGIOUS PLAY OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Also known as the Repraesentatio Adae and Le Mystère d'Adam
and containing three parts: Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel,
and the Processus Prophetarum

Translated from the Norman French and Latin into English verse

by

EDWARD NOBLE STONE

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PREFACE

The *Mystère d'Adam,* the work of an unknown author of the middle of the twelfth century, not only has the distinction of being the first of the religious dramas in France to be enacted outside the precincts of the church, the first to employ the vernacular exclusively in its dialogue, and the first perhaps in which any serious attempt was made to delineate character; but in its outward form and its highly developed scheme of rhymes and metres, it constitutes as well one of the finest monuments of mediaeval poetry.

Had I known that an English translation of the *Adam* was already in print, I should probably have been deterred from attempting to bring out another version of the same poem; but I did not learn of the publication of Barrow and Hulme's prose translation[1] or succeed in obtaining a copy of it until my own version had been nearly completed. I still feel, however, that my own metrical and rhymed translation may serve as an acceptable supplement to the literal translation just mentioned; for while a metrical and rhymed translation of a poem can be, at best, only a paraphrase, a prose translation must of necessity sacrifice much of the external beauty of the original. The photograph of a flower, however accurate, does not always give us as good an idea of the flower's beauty as might a painting of the same blossom, even when made by a colorist of only mediocre ability.

In my translation, I have endeavored to preserve faithfully the form of the original, both the metre and the rhyme, at the same time keeping as close to the text as the exigencies of versification permit. In preparing this version I have used the texts of Professor Paul Studer[2] and Doctor Karl Grass,[3] and also the text of lines 205-316, included by the late Gaston Paris in his chrestomathy of Old French prose and poetry.[4] In the main, Studer's text has been followed, but I have not hesitated to adopt the readings of one of the other editions whenever these appealed to me as more appropriate.

In the introduction to his edition of the play (covering some fifty pages), Professor Studer gives a scholarly, exhaustive, and very readable account of the sources of the *Adam,* its place in the evolution of the religious drama,

[1] *The Medieval Religious Plays, Antichrist and Adam.* Translated by Sarah F. Barrow, Ph.D., and William H. Hulme, Ph.D. Western Reserve University Bulletin, Vol. XXVIII, No. 8. August, 1925.

[2] *Le Mystère d'Adam, an Anglo-Norman Drama of the Twelfth Century.* Edited by Paul Studer, M.A., D.Litt., Taylorian Professor of the Romance Languages in the University of Oxford. Manchester University Press, 1918.

[3] *Das Adamsspiel, Anglonormannisches Mysterium des XII Jahrhunderts.* Herausgegeben von Dr. Karl Grass, Oberlehrer am Realgymnasium zu Düren (Rheinland). Zweite verbesserte Auflage. (Romanische Bibliothek, vi), Halle a. S., 1907.

[4] *Chrestomathie du moyen âge,* extraits publiés.... par G. Paris et E. Langlois, 2e édition, Paris, 1899.

the manuscript and editions, the language and versification,[5] and the probable date and authorship. Readers who do not have access to Studer's book will find a brief but very satisfactory statement of the main facts relating to the *Adam* in the introduction to Barrow and Hume's translation.

Of scarcely less interest than the drama itself are the naïve and detailed *didascalia,* or Latin stage directions, probably written by the author of the play, who may also have acted as stage director. Not only does he warn the actors against being either too swift or too slow in speaking their lines, and against adding a syllable to that which is written or taking a syllable therefrom; but he admonishes them to speak composedly, using such gestures as befit the matter whereof they may be speaking, and particularly to point out with their hands the persons or objects that they mention in their speech. Fearing that Cain may enter too zealously into the spirit of the second act and overdo his part in the murder scene, the author thoughtfully provides an iron pot, ('ollam'), to protect the head of Abel; but he preserves the realism of the scene by having the pot well hidden under the garments with which Abel covers his head on kneeling to receive the fatal blow. And when Adam, after eating the forbidden fruit, immediately recognizes his sin and prepares to remove his festal garb in order to put on "poor garments of fig-leaves sewn together," the author specifies that he shall first bow himself down behind the silken hangings of Paradise, not merely in contrition for his fault, but "so that he shall not be seen of the people"—a concession to the proprieties not always in evidence on the modern stage.

The interest and value of Professor Studer's work is enhanced by the inclusion in the introduction[6] of a long extract from Marius Sepet's book, *"Le Drame Chrétien au Moyen Âge,"* in which the French historian reconstructs with great vividness, and probably with great accuracy, the whole setting of the "stage" for the presentation of the play. He shows us the bench before the portal of the church, where, in the last act, the prophets sit down one after another, to deliver their prophecies; to the left of this, another and longer bench, destined for the long-bearded scoffers of the synagogue; to the right, raised on a scaffolding and hung about with silken curtains, the earthly Paradise, filled with flowers, fruits and foliage; to the left of the main portal, and well to the front, the square tower representing Hell, through whose

[5] "There are 758 octosyllabic lines usually grouped in couplets, ... and the play ends "with a 'tirade' of twelve lines rhyming in *-ant.* In addition there are 184 decasyllabic "lines (49-116, 461-473, 519-622) distributed in quatrains with one rhyme, except the four "lines 113-116 which have two rhymes.

"This varied versification the author has put to excellent account. In rapid dialogue, "in the glib speech of Satan, in the angry words of God, and Adam's rage at realizing his "lost estate, he gives preference to octosyllabic verse, reserving the longer metre for the "solemn installation of man in Paradise, the sorrow of Eve after the Fall, and the lament "of Adam. In the second act Abel and Cain speak in decasyllabic verse in discussing dis- "passionately the advisability of seeking reconciliation with God by means of gifts and of- "ferings, but as soon as the conversation grows more heated, the speakers relapse into "shorter verse." Studer, lii.

[6] Pages xxiv and xxv.

barred windows may be seen the devils, hideously masked, clad in skins of beasts, and wearing the traditional horns and tail. And just within the church,—the celestial Paradise,—between the doorway and the nave, stands the full choir in all its solemn vestments,—the heavenly host, whose songs are to introduce, to interpret, and probably to close the action of the play.

Like the mediaeval builders, the poets of the twelfth century "wrought in a sad sincerity," which challenges our respect even when their quaint artlessness provokes our mirth. And as I read again the lines of the unknown author of *Adam,* his very naïveté has taken on a solemn dignity; no longer do I smile at his simple rubrics; already in imagination I have become one of the vast throng standing in the market-place before the great church portal, following in awed silence the unfolding of the Drama of Humanity.

Edward Noble Stone.

University of Washington
Seattle, Washington

January, 1926

ADAM

ORDER OF THE PRESENTATION OF ADAM

Let Paradise be set up in a somewhat lofty place; let there be put about it curtains and silken hangings, at such an height that those persons who shall be in Paradise can be seen from the shoulders upward; let there be planted there sweet-smelling flowers and foliage; let divers trees be therein, and fruits hanging upon them, so that it may seem a most delectable place.

Then let the Saviour[7] *come, clothed in a dalmatic, and let Adam and Eve be set before him. Let Adam be clothed in a red tunic; Eve, however, in a woman's garment of white, and a white silken wimple*[8]*; and let them both stand before the Figure*[9]*; but Adam a little nearer, with composed countenance; Eve, however, with countenance a little more subdued.*

And let Adam himself be well instructed when he shall make his answers, lest in answering he be either too swift or too slow. Let not only Adam, but all the persons, be so instructed that they shall speak composedly and shall use such gestures as become the matter whereof they are speaking; and in uttering the verses, let them neither add a syllable nor take away, but let them pronounce all clearly; and let those things that are to be said be said in their due order.

Whoever shall speak the name of Paradise, let him look back at it and point it out with his hand.

Then let the Lesson begin:

"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."[10]

And after this is ended let the choir sing: ℟

"And the Lord God formed man."[11]

And when this is ended, let the Figure *say*:

[7] See Note 9.

[8] *Peplo serico albo.* According to Du Cange (*Glossarium Mediae at Infimae Latinitatis*), 'peplum' in mediaeval Latin means 'wimple' or 'scarf' rather than 'robe'.

[9] *Figura.* "This mysterious name is regularly employed in the Representation of Adam "to indicate the person of God. It represents, I believe, more particularly the Word, later to "become incarnate in Jesus Christ. The same divine personage is once called 'Salvator' "(the Saviour) in the rubric: 'Tunc veniat Salvator indutus dalmatica'." Marius Sepet, *Origines catholiques du théatre moderne,* 137.

[10] In principio creavit deus celum et terram. *Genesis,* i, 1 (Vulgate). "Sepet "(*Prophètes,* p. 109) suggests that this 'lectio' probably consisted of the chief lessons for "the Sunday of Septuagesima, including thus the complete story of the Creation. The respon- "soria which follow . . . . belong to the same office." Studer, 47.

[11] *Formavit igitur dominus.* Based on *Genesis,* ii, 7. In the Vulgate the whole verse is: "Formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae et inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae; et factus est homo in animam viventem." According to Studer (page 57), the words given in the text constitute the responsorium following the first lesson at Matins on Septuagesima Sunday.

Adam! *And let him answer*: Lord!

FIGURE. Out of earthy clay
I fashioned thee.

ADAM. I know it, yea!

FIGURE. A living soul to thee I gave,
In thee my likeness did I grave,
Mine earthly image making thee.
Never must thou rebellious be.

ADAM. Not I! but I will trust thee aye,
And my Creator I'll obey.

FIGURE. A fitting fere I've given thee
(Eve is she hight) thy wife to be—
Thy wife to be and partener,
And thou must ever cleave to her,
Do thou love her, let her love thee;
So shall ye both be blest of me.
Let her thine own commands obey,
And both be subject to my sway.
From thy rib-bone her form I wrought;
No stranger she, but from thee brought.
Out of thy body I shaped her frame;
From thee, not from without, she came.
Govern her, then, with counsel wise,
Nor let dissent betwixt you rise,
But love and mutual service great.
Such is the law of wedlock's state.

FIGURE. (TO EVE) Now will I speak to thee, O Eve.
Take heed, nor lightly this receive:
If thou to do my will art fain,
Thy heart its goodness will retain;
Honor and love to me accord,
Thy Maker and acknowledged Lord;
To serve me be thy heart inclined
With all thy might and all thy mind.
Love Adam, hold him dear as life;
He is thy husband, thou his wife;
Ever to him submit thy heart
And from his teaching ne'er depart;
Serve him and love, with willing mind;
Therein is wedlock's law defined.
If thou art proved a helper meet,
I'll set you both in glory's seat.

EVE. Lord, I will do what pleaseth thee,
In nothing will neglectful be;
To thee, as sovereign, I will bow,

And him my fere and liege avow.
To him I will at all times cleave,
From me good counsel he'll receive;
Thy pleasure and his service aye
Will I perform, in every way.

Then let the FIGURE *call Adam nearer, and more particularly addressing him, say:*

Listen! O Adam. Hearken unto me.[12]
I formed thee; now this gift I add in fee:
Thou mayest live alway—if thou loyal be—
And hale and sound, from every sickness free.
Thou'lt hunger not, nor thirst shall thee annoy,
Neither shall heat nor cold thine ease destroy,
Nor weariness thy perfect bliss alloy,
Nor any suffering abate thy joy.
All of thy life in pleasance thou shalt spend;
'T will not be short—a life withouten end!
I tell thee this, and will that Eve attend;
Unless she heed, to folly she will bend.
Dominion over all the earth ye'll hold;
Birds, beasts—all creatures—be by you controlled;
Who grudgeth this, his worth is lightly told,
For your demesne shall the whole world enfold.
Of good and ill I grant you choice to make;
(Who hath such choice is tethered to no stake;)
Weigh all in the balance fairly, nor mistake;
Be true to me, my counsel ne'er forsake.
Leave thou the evil, choose the good as guide;
Love thou thy Lord, and keep thee at his side;
None other counsel e'er for mine be tried:
Do this, so shalt thou without sin abide.

ADAM. Great thanks I give thee for thy kindness, Lord,
Who madest me and dost such grace accord,
To place both good and evil in my ward.
Thy service shall my fullest joy afford.
Thou art my Lord, and in myself I see
Thy handiwork, for thou didst fashion me;
Nor ever shall my will so stubborn be,
But that my chiefest care be serving thee.

Then let the FIGURE *with its hand point out Paradise to Adam, saying:*

Adam!

ADAM. Lord!

FIGURE. Hear my plan; lift up thine eyes;
This garden see.

[12] For change of metre, see Note 5.

ADAM. Its name?
FIGURE. 'Tis Paradise.
ADAM. A place most fair!
FIGURE. Myself did it devise
And plant. Who here shall dwell as friend I'll prize.
I place it in thy trust, to keep for aye.
Then shall he send them into Paradise, saying:
I set you both herein.
ADAM. And shall we stay?
FIGURE. Through all your life. Nothing shall you affray;
Now ye can neither die nor waste away.
Let the choir sing: ℟.
"And the Lord took the man."[13]
Then shall the FIGURE *stretch forth his hand toward Paradise, saying:*
The nature of this garden I'll recite:
Here shalt thou feel the lack of no delight;
No earthly good, desired of any wight,
But each may here be found in measure right.
Here wife from man shall no harsh word obtain,
Nor man from wife have shame or cause to plain;
Begetting, man shall sinless still remain,
And woman bear her children without pain.
For aye thou'lt live; so blest is this sojourn,
With passing years thine age no change shall learn;
Nor dread of death shall bring to thee concern;
I will thy dwelling here to be eterne.
Let the choir sing: ℟.
"And the Lord said unto Adam."[14]
Then let the FIGURE *with his hand point out unto Adam the trees of Paradise, saying:*
Of all these fruits thou mayest eat each day.
And let him shew him the forbidden tree, and its fruits, saying:

[13] *Tulit ergo dominus hominem. Genesis*, ii, 15. According to Studer (page 48), the responsorium which follows the fourth lesson at Matins on Septuagesima Sunday. In the Vulgate, the full verse reads: "Tulit ergo Dominus Deus hominem, et posuit eum in paradiso voluptatis ut operaretur, et custodiret illum."

[14] *Dixit dominus ad Adam.* "Responsorium not included in the Roman breviary, but "which Sepet (*Prophètes*, p. 108) has found in a twelfth-century breviary of Saint Martial "of Limoges; it occurs in the liturgy for the Sunday of Septuagesima. The full text runs "as follows: *Dixit Dominus ad Adam: De ligno quod est in medio paradisi ne comedas; "in quacunque die comederis ex eo, morte morieris. Praecepitque ei Dominus dicens: Ex "omni ligno paradisi comede, de ligno autem scientiae boni et mali ne comedas.*" Studer, pp. 48-49.

The passage is based on the Vulgate, *Genesis*, ii, 16-17, which reads: "Praecepitque ei dicens: Ex omni ligno paradisi comede: de ligno autem scientiae boni et mali ne comedas: in quocumque enim die comederis ex eo, morte morieris."

This I forbid thee, here make no essay;
If thou dost eat thereof thou'rt dead straightway;
My love thou'lt lose, thy weal with woe repay.

ADAM. All thy commandments will I keep in mind,
Nor I nor Eve to break them be inclined;
If for one fruit such dwelling were resigned,
Rightly should I be outcast to the wind.
If for an apple I thy love gainsay,
Ne'er in my life can I my folly pay;
A traitor should he judgëd be for aye,
Who doth himself forswear, his lord betray.

Then let the Figure go to the church,[15] *and let Adam and Eve walk about, innocently delighting themselves in Paradise. In the mean time, let the demons run to and fro through the square,*[16] *making fitting gestures; and let them come, one after another, alongside of Paradise, shewing Eve the forbidden fruit, as if entreating her to eat thereof. Then let the* DEVIL *come unto Adam; and he shall say unto him*:

How liv'st thou, Adam?

ADAM. In felicity.[17]

DEVIL. Is it well with thee?

ADAM. There's nothing vexeth me.

DEVIL. It can be better.

ADAM. Nay—I know not how.

DEVIL. Then, wouldst thou know?

ADAM. It recks me little now.

DEVIL. I know, forsooth!

ADAM. What boots it me to learn?

DEVIL. And why not, pray?

ADAM. Naught doth it me concern.

DEVIL. Concern thee 't will!

ADAM. I know not when.

DEVIL. I'll not make haste to tell thee, then.

ADAM. Nay, tell me!

DEVIL. No! I'll keep thee waiting
Till thou art sick of supplicating.

ADAM. To know this thing I have no need.

[15] *Tunc vadat Figura ad ecclesiam.* The church building represents the celestial Paradise, the terrestrial Paradise being on a scaffolding in front and to the right of the church itself.

[16] "The scene was set up in front of the church. . . . . The populace was grouped in "front of the scene, in the square, and on several occasions the demons ran about among "the crowd, partly to frighten, partly to amuse them." Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, i, 83.

[17] The dialogue continues in ten-syllable metre through line 118, the lines rhyming in pairs, however, not in quatrains.

DEVIL. Thou dost deserve no boon, indeed!
The boon thou hast thou canst not use.
ADAM. Prithee, how's that?
DEVIL. Thou'lt not refuse
To hear? Well, then,—'twixt thee and me,—
ADAM. I'll listen, most assuredly!
DEVIL. Now mark me, Adam. I tell thee it
For thine own good.
ADAM. That I'll admit.
DEVIL. Thou'lt trust me, then?
ADAM. Full trust I bring!
DEVIL. In every point?
ADAM. All—save one thing.
DEVIL. What thing is that?
ADAM. This: I'll do naught
Offensive to my Maker's thought.
DEVIL. Dost fear him so?
ADAM. I fear him; yes—
Both love and fear.
DEVIL. That's foolishness!
What can he do thee?
ADAM. Good and bale.
DEVIL. Thou'st listened to an idle tale!
An evil thing befall thee? Why,
In glory born,[18] thou canst not die!
ADAM. God saith I'll die, without redress,
Whene'er his precepts I transgress.
DEVIL. What is this great transgression, pray?
I fain would learn without delay.
ADAM. I'll tell thee all in perfect truth.
This the command he gave, forsooth:
Of all the fruits of Paradise
I've leave to eat (such his advice)—
—All, save one only, which is banned;
That I'll not touch, e'en with my hand.
DEVIL. Which fruit is that?

Then let Adam stretch forth his hand and shew him the forbidden fruit, saying:

ADAM. See'st yonder tree?
That fruit hath he forbidden me.
DEVIL. Dost know the reason?
ADAM. Certes, no!

[18] Grass reads: "N'es tu en gloire? n'en poez morir"; Studer: "N'es tu en gloire? ne poez morir." Studer, however, calls attention to Suchier's emendation: "Nez en gloire, ne poez morir," which renders metrically correct a line that was evidently wrongly written by the copyist. I have followed Suchier's reading.

DEVIL. The occasion of this thing I'll show:
No whit cares he for all the rest;
But yon, that hangeth loftiest,
—The fruit of Knowledge—can bestow
The gift all mysteries to know.
If thou eat'st that, 't will profit thee.
ADAM. In what way, pray?
DEVIL. That thou shalt see:
Thine eyes will straightway be unsealed,
All future things to thee revealed;
All that thou will'st thou canst perform;
'T will bring thee blessings in a swarm.
Eat, and thou shalt repent it not;
Then thou'lt not fear thy God in aught;
Instead, thou'lt be in all his peer;
For this, he filled thy soul with fear.
Wilt trust me? Then to taste proceed.
ADAM. That will I not!
DEVIL. Fine words, indeed!
Thou wilt not?
ADAM. No!
DEVIL. A fool art thou!
Thou'lt yet mind what I tell thee now.

Then let the Devil depart; and he shall go to the other demons, and he shall make an excursion through the square; and after some little interval, cheerful and rejoicing, he shall return to his tempting of Adam, and he shall say unto him:

How farest thou, Adam? Wilt change thy mind?
Or still to stubbornness inclined?
I meant to tell thee recently[19]
God as his almsman keepeth thee.
He put thee here the fruit to eat;
Hast other recreation sweet?
ADAM. Here nothing lacks I could desire.
DEVIL. Dost to naught loftier aspire?
Canst boast thyself a man of price!
—God's gardener of Paradise!
He made thee keeper of his park;
Wilt thou not seek a higher mark?
Filling thy belly!—Surely, he
Had nobler aims in mind for thee!

[19] "Jol te quidai dire l'autr'ier." 'L'autr'ier' is literally 'day before yesterday,' 'the other day,' but used in the general sense of 'recently.' Creizenach, however, (*Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, i, 129) thinks that the pause in the action between lines 172 and 173 is intended to represent an interval of two or three days.

Listen now, Adam, and attend
The honest counsel that I lend:
Thou couldest from thy Lord be free,
And thy Creator's equal be.
In brief, I'll this assurance make:
If of this apple thou partake,
(*Then shall he lift his hand toward Paradise.*)
Then thou shalt reign in majesty!
In power, God's partner thou canst be!

ADAM. Go! Get thee hence!

DEVIL. What! Adam. —How!

ADAM. Go! Get thee hence! Satan art thou!
Ill counsel giv'st thou.

DEVIL. How, pray tell!

ADAM. Thou would'st deliver me to hell!
Thou would'st me with my Lord embroil,
Move me from bliss to bale and moil.
I will not trust thee! Get thee hence!
Nor ever have the impudence
Again to come before my face!
Traitor forsworn, withouten grace!

Then shall the Devil, sadly and with downcast countenance, depart from Adam and he shall go even unto the gates of Hell,[20] *and he shall hold converse there with the other demons. Thereafter, he shall make an excursion among the people; but presently he shall draw near to Paradise, on the side where Eve is, and approaching Eve with a cheerful countenance and much blandishment, he thus accosteth her:*

[DEVIL.] Eve, hither am I come, to thee.

EVE. And prithee, Satan, why to me?

DEVIL. Seeking thy weal, thine honour, too.

EVE. God grant it!

DEVIL. Then, thy fears eschew.
Long since, I've mastered by my pains
Each secret Paradise contains;
A part of them to thee I'll tell.

EVE. Begin, then, and I'll listen well.

DEVIL. Thou'lt hearken to me?

EVE. Hearken?—yea,
Nor vex thy soul in any way.

[20] Marius Sepet, in the extract from *Le Drame chrétien au moyen âge* quoted by Studer in the introduction to his Mystère d'Adam, describes the gates of Hell as having the form of the jaws of an enormous dragon, which could be opened and closed at will. Grass, however, (*Romanische Bibliothek*, VI, xxi), thinks that this device had not yet come into use when the *Adam* was first presented.

DEVIL. Thou'lt keep it hidden?
EVE. Yea, in truth.
DEVIL. Nor publish it?
EVE. Not I! forsooth.
DEVIL. Then, to this contract I'll agree,
Nor further pledge require of thee.
EVE. Might'st safely trust my promise, though.
DEVIL. Thou'st been to a good school, I trow!
Adam I've seen—a fool is he.
EVE. A little hard.
DEVIL. He'll softer be;
But harder now than iron is.[21]
EVE. A noble man!
DEVIL. A churl! I wis.
Thought for himself he will not take;
Let him have care, e'en for thy sake.
Thou art a delicate, tender thing,
Thou'rt fresher than the rose in spring;
Thou'rt whiter than the crystal pale,
Than snow that falls in the icy vale.
An ill-matched pair did God create!
Too tender thou, too hard thy mate.
But thou'rt the wiser, I confess;
Thy heart is full of cleverness;
Therefore 't is good to treat with thee.
To thee I'd speak; have faith in me.
Let none know of it.
EVE. Who should know?
DEVIL. Not Adam even.
EVE. Be it so.
DEVIL. Now will I speak; do thou give ear.
None, save us twain, is present here,[22]—
(And Adam yon, who hath not heard.)
EVE. Speak up! He'll not perceive a word.
DEVIL. I'll shew thee, then, what crafty plot
Was 'against you in this garden wrought:
The fruit God gave you to possess
Hath in it little goodliness,
But in the fruit to you forbidden
Exceeding virtue lieth hidden;
Therein is found of life the dower,

[21] I have followed the reading of Gaston Paris: "Il est plus durs que n'est nus fers," in preference to Studer's: "Il est plus dors que n'est emfers."

[22] "N'a que nus dous en ceste rote." 'Rote' here probably means 'company' (cf. English 'rout'), as Studer translates it, rather than 'way,' 'path.'

Dominion, mastery, and power,
Knowledge of evil and of good.

EVE. What savour hath 't?

DEVIL. 'T is heavenly food!
To thy fair body, to thy face,
Most meet it were to add this grace:
That thou be queen of the world—of this,
Of the firmament, and of the abyss—
And know all things that shall befall,
And be the mistress of them all.[23]

EVE. Is such the fruit?

DEVIL. Truly, it is.

Then shall Eve carefully consider the forbidden fruit, and after she hath considered it for a season, she shall say:

Only to see it brings me bliss!

DEVIL. But what, if thou shalt eat it, Eve?

EVE. How should I know?

DEVIL. Wilt not believe?
First take it, and to Adam bear;
Heaven's crown will then be yours to wear;
Ye shall be like your Maker then,
He'll hide no secrets from your ken.
Soon as ye've eaten of the fruit,
Your hearts it straightway will transmute;
With God ye'll be—free from all blight[24]—
Of equal goodness, equal might.
Come taste it!

EVE. That I'm thinking on.

DEVIL. Trust Adam not!

EVE. I'll taste anon.

DEVIL. But when?

EVE. Let me deferment make
Till Adam his repose shall take.

DEVIL. But eat it. Put thy fears away.
'Twere childish greatly to delay.

Then shall the Devil depart from Eve and shall go unto Hell; but ADAM *shall come unto Eve, being sore displeased because the Devil hath spoken with her, and he shall say unto her:*

Say, wife, what thing of thee inquired
That evil Satan?—what desired?

[23] Cf. *Paradise Lost*, ix, 546-548:

"Who sees thee? . . . . who should be seen
"A goddess among gods, ador'd and serv'd
"By angels numberless, thy daily train."

[24] "Sanz faillance." I have followed Gaston Paris's translation, 'sans faiblesse,' in preference to Studer's, 'without fail.'

EVE. 'T was of our honour he conversed.
ADAM. Believe him not—the traitor curs'd!
That he's a traitor, I've no doubt.
EVE. And wherefore, pray?
ADAM. I've found him out.
EVE. What boots it? See him once—thou'lt find
Eftsoons he'll make thee change thy mind![25]
ADAM. Not he! I'll trust him not at all
Till I've made trial of him withal.
Let him no more come near to thee;
He's full of foulest perfidy,
His sovereign Lord he sought to cheat
And set himself in the highest seat.
A knave that's done such wickedness
To thee shall never have access.

Then a serpent, cunningly put together, shall ascend along the trunk of the forbidden tree, unto which Eve shall approach her ear, as if hearkening unto its counsel. Thereafter, Eve shall take the apple, and shall offer it unto Adam. But he shall not yet receive it, and EVE *shall say unto him*:

Eat! Adam; thou know'st not what is offered!
Let's take the gift thus freely proffered.
ADAM. Is it so good?
EVE. That thou shalt see;
But canst not, till it tasted be.
ADAM. I fear!
EVE. Then, leave it!
ADAM. Nay, I'll taste.
EVE. Faint-heart! so long thy time to waste!
ADAM. I'll take the fruit.
EVE. Here, eat it! So
Thou shalt both good and evil know.
But, first, myself I'll taste it now.
ADAM. And I next?
EVE. Marry! Next shalt thou.

Then shall Eve eat a part of the apple, and she shall say unto Adam:

I've tasted! Pardi! What a savour!
I've never known so sweet a flavour!
With such a savour 't is endued—
ADAM. What savour?
EVE. —as no mortal food!
Now do mine eyes so clearly see

[25] In lines 283 and 284 I have followed the readings and distribution of dialogue made by Gaston Paris, in preference to those of either Grass or Studer.

I seem Almighty God to be!
All that has been or shall befall
I know—am mistress of it all!
Eat! Adam, eat! No more abstain;
Thou'lt do it to thy lasting gain.[26]

Then shall Adam receive the apple from the hand of Eve, saying:

ADAM. I'll trust thy word, thou art my peer.
EVE. Take, eat; thou hast no cause to fear.

Then shall Adam eat a part of the apple; and having eaten it, he shall straightway take knowledge of his sin; and he shall bow himself down so that he cannot be seen of the people, and shall put off his goodly garments, and shall put on poor garments of fig-leaves sewn together; and manifesting exceeding great sorrow, he shall begin his lamentation:

[ADAM.] O! sinful wretch! What have I done?
Now my avoidless death 's begun!
Now, without rescue, am I dead;
My fortune fair is evil sped;
My lot, a little time ago
So happy, now is turned to woe;
I my Creator did forsake
Through counsel of my evil make.
O! sinner lost! What shall I do?
How can I now my Maker view?
Upon my Maker can I look,
Whom through my folly I forsook?
Ne'er such ill bargain did I strike!
Now do I know what sin is like!
O Death! Why dost thou let me live,
Nor to the earth clean riddance give?
Why, cumbering earth, do I yet stay?
The depths of hell must I essay;
In hell my dwelling aye shall be
Until one come to succour me.
In hell henceforward I shall fare,
And whence shall help come to me there?
Whence shall aid thither come to me?

[26] Petit de Julleville (*Les Mystères*, i, 85) calls attention to the fact that both Milton and the author of *Adam* represent Adam as recognizing his sin as soon as he has tasted the apple, while Eve seems to enjoy for a short time the delicious savor of the forbidden fruit. In a footnote, he quotes (in translation) the following lines (ix, 785-790) from *Paradise Lost*:

"For Eve,
"Intent now wholly on her taste, naught else
"Regarded; such delight till then, as seem'd,
"In fruit she never tasted, whether true
"Or fancy'd so, through expectation high
"Of knowledge."

Who from such pains shall set me free?
Why did I thus my Lord offend?
Now there is none can be my friend;
None will there be can me avail;
Lost am I now, withouten fail!
Against my Lord I've done such sin,
No suit with him can I begin,
For right is he, and wrong am I.
O God! 'Neath what a curse I lie!
Who, henceforth, will take thought of me,
Who've wronged the King of Majesty?
'Gainst Heaven's own king such wrong I've done
That claim upon him have I none.
No friend I have, no neighbour near,
Who as my surety might appear;
And whom shall I beseech for aid,
When mine own wife hath me betrayed,
Whom God gave me my fere to be?
An evil counsel gave she me!
Alas! O Eve!

Then shall he look upon Eve, his wife, and shall say:

Insensate wife!
In an ill hour I gave thee life!
O had that rib been burned, alas!
That brought me to this evil pass!
Had but the fire that rib consumed,
That me to such confusion doomed!
Why, when from me the rib he drew,
Burned he it not, nor me then slew?
The rib the body hath betrayed,
Ill-treated, and all useless made.
I know not what to say or try;
Unless grace reach me from on high,
From pain I cannot be released,
Such malady on me hath seized.
Alas! O Eve! Woe worth the day—
Such torment holdeth me in sway—
Thou e'er becamest wife to me!
Now I am lost through heeding thee;
Through heeding thee I'm in this plight,
Brought down most low from a great height.
Thence will no mortal rescue me—
None, save the God of majesty.
What say I? Wretch! Why named I him?
He help? I've gained his anger grim!

None will e'er bring me succour—none
Save him who'll come as Mary's son.
From none can I henceforth get aid
Since we our trust with God betrayed.
Then, let all be as God ordains;
No course, except to die, remains.

Then let the choir begin: ℟ *"The voice of the Lord God walking in the garden."*[27]

After this hath been sung, the Figure shall come, wearing a stole, and looking about him, as if seeking to know where Adam is. But Adam and Eve shall be hidden in a corner of Paradise, as if conscious of their wretchedness; and the FIGURE *shall say*:

Adam, where art thou?

Then shall they both arise and stand before the Figure, yet not fully upright, but through shame for their sin, bending forward a little, and exceeding sad; and let ADAM *make answer*:

Lord, I'm here.
I hid; thine anger did I fear;
I saw my nakedness revealed,
Therefore myself have I concealed.

FIGURE. What hast thou done? How gone astray?
Who thee from goodness drew away?
What hast thou done? Why blushest thou?
How shall I reckon with thee now?
Thou hadst, a little while ago,
No reason any shame to show;
Now see I thee downcast, distraught;
Small joy thy dwelling here hath brought!

ADAM. So great is my confusion, I
Do hide me from thee, Lord.

FIGURE. And why?

ADAM. Such shame my body doth enlace,
I dare not look thee in the face.

[27] *Dum deambularet.* "Responsorium following the first lesson at Matins on the "Monday after Septuagesima. The full text is: *Dum deambularet Dominus in paradiso "ad auram post meridiem, clamavit et dixit: Adam, ubi es? Audivi, Domine, vocem tuam, "et abscondi me. Vocem tuam audivi in paradiso et timui eo quod nudus essem. Et abscondi me."* Studer, 51.

This responsorium is based on the Vulgate, *Genesis*, iii, 8-10, which reads: "Et cum audissent vocem Domini Dei deambulantis in paradiso ad auram post meridiem, abscondit se Adam et uxor ejus a facie Domini Dei in medio ligni paradisi. Vocavitque Dominus Deus Adam, et dixit ei: Ubi es? Qui ait: Vocem tuam audivi in paradiso, et timui, eo quod nudus essem, et abscondi me."

In the Douai Version, v. 8 reads: "And when they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in paradise at the afternoon air, Adam and his wife hid themselves from the face of the Lord God amidst the trees of paradise." The King James Version has "in the cool of the day," instead of "at the afternoon air."

FIGURE. Why overstept'st thou my decree?
Hath this brought any gain to thee?
My servant thou, thy Lord am I.
ADAM. This can I in no wise deny.
FIGURE. In mine own likeness thee I wrought;
Why set'st thou my command at naught?
After mine image formed I thee;
Why hast thou thus affronted me?
Thou didst in no wise heed my hest;
Deliberately thou hast transgressed!
That fruit thou atest which I said
I had for thee prohibited.
Didst reckon thus my peer to be?
I do not think thou'lt jest with me!

Then shall ADAM *stretch forth his hand toward the Figure, and thereafter toward Eve, saying:*

The woman that thou gavest me,
She first did this iniquity;
She gave me it, and I did eat;
Now is my life with woe replete.
Most rashly meddled I therein;
'T was through my wife that I did sin.
FIGURE. Thy wife thou trustedst more than me,
Didst eat without my warranty;
This recompense to thee I'll make:
Curs'd shall the ground be for thy sake,
Where thou shalt wish thy grain to sow,
Nor shall it any fruit bestow;
Curs'd shall it 'neath thy hand remain,
And all thy tillage be in vain.
Its fruit to thee it shall not yield,
But thorns and thistles fill thy field;—
'T will change whate'er is sown by thee;
Its curse shall be thy penalty.
With grievous toil and bitter pain
To eat thy bread shalt thou be fain;
In sweat, in great affliction, aye
Thou'lt live hereafter, night and day.

Then shall the Figure turn toward Eve, and with a threatening countenance shall say unto her:

Thou, too, O Eve, woman of sin,
Didst thy rebellion soon begin
And briefly heededst my decree.
EVE. The wicked serpent tempted me.
FIGURE. Didst think through him to be my peer?

Hast learned to make things hidden clear?
Erstwhile thou heldest sovereignty
Over all living things that be;
How quickly hast thou lost thy crown!
Now see I thee sad and cast down.
Hast thou thereby got gain or hurt?
I'll render thee thy just desert;
Thy service I will thus repay:
Woe thee shall find in every way;
In sorrow thou'lt thy children bear,
In pain throughout their life they'll fare;
In sorrow they'll be born of thee,
And end their days in misery.
To such distress and direful need
Thou'st brought thyself and all thy seed;
All thy descendents ever more
Thy sin shall bitterly deplore.

And Eve shall make answer, saying:

EVE. Yea, I have sinned—'t was through my folly vain;[28]
For one sole apple I have got such bane
As doometh me and mine to bitter pain—
Great toll of wretchedness, with little gain!
If I have sinned, 't was nothing strange, I fear,
Whenas the serpent charmed my silly ear;
Much guile he hath, no lamb doth he appear;
Unhappy he who would his counsel hear!
I took the fruit—'t was folly, now I see;
This wickedness I wrought 'gainst thy decree;
I tasted it, and won thine enmity.
For a little fruit, my life must forfeit be!

Then shall the FIGURE *threaten the serpent, saying:*

Thou, too, O Serpent, curs'd shalt be;
I will exact my due of thee:
Upon thy belly shalt thou go
Through all the days thy life shall know;
The dust shall be thy daily food,
On moor or heath, or in the wood;
Woman shall bear thee enmity,
An evil neighbour ever be;
To strike her heel thou'lt lie in wait,
But she herself shall bruise thy pate;[29]

[28] For change of metre in lines 461 and 473, see Note 5.

[29] "Cele te sachera le ras." This line has given much trouble to Grass, Studer, and other editors, and in view of the unsettled question of its meaning, I have followed rather closely the phraseology of *Genesis*, iii, 15, of which these lines are a paraphrase. 'Ras'

Thy head with such a Hammer smite
'T will put thee in a sorry plight;
Therefrom shall she such aidance get,
She'll be avengëd of thee yet!
Thou sought'st her acquaintance to thy woe;
She yet shall bring thy head full low;
There yet shall spring from her a Root
That all thy cunning shall confute.

Then shall the Figure drive them forth out of Paradise, saying:

From Paradise, go! get you hence!
Ye've made ill change of residence.
On earth shall ye your dwelling make;
In Paradise ye have no stake,
No title there, and no concern;
Forth shall ye go, without return.
Through judgment ye can claim naught there;
Now find you lodgment otherwhere.
Go! From felicity depart!
Hunger shall fail you not, nor smart,
But pain and weariness abound
Day after day, the whole week round.
On earth a weary term ye'll spend,
And die thereafter, in the end;
After ye've tasted death, straightway
To hell ye'll come without delay.
Here exile shall your bodies quell,[30]
And danger daunt your souls in hell.
Satan shall hold your souls in thrall;
There'll be no helper ye can call,
None by whom rescue can be sent,
Unless I pity and relent.

Let the choir sing: R.

"In the sweat of thy face."[31]

is not found elsewhere in Old French, and while Godefroy gives 'tête' as a tentative meaning, Studer (following Grass) does not think it can be so interpreted, but is inclined to believe that the line means: "She will deprive thee of thy sting." Were it not for the extreme rarity of words of Arabic provenance in twelfth century French, I should be tempted to suggest as a possible etymon for the French 'ras,' the Arabic 'ra'as' or 'râs' ('head'), early adopted into Spanish, in the form 'res,' meaning 'head' (of cattle).

[30] "Ici avront les cors eissil." While Studer suggests 'torment' as a rendering for "eissil," I have kept the literal meaning of the word, which seems appropriate in this passage.

[31] *In sudore vultus tui.* "Responsorium following the second lesson at Matins on the "Monday after Septuagesima. . . . The full text is: *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo, "dixit Dominus ad Adam: cum operatus fueris terram, non dabit fructus suos, sed spinas "et tribulos germinabit tibi. Quia audisti vocem uxoris tuae et comedisti de ligno, ex quo praeceperam tibi ne comederes, maledicta terra in opere tuo."* Studer, 53.

The passage in *Genesis* on which this responsorium is based reads as follows in the Vulgate: "Adae vero dixit: Quia audisti vocem uxoris tuae, et comedisti de ligno, ex

In the mean time there shall come an angel, clad in white garments, and bearing a shining sword in his hand, whom the Figure shall set over against the gate of Paradise, and he shall say unto him:

Guard well my Paradise, that ne'er
Again this outlaw enter there—
That him no leave or chance befall
To touch the fruit of Life at all;
With this thy sword that flameth aye,
Forever bar for him the way.

When they shall be clean outside of Paradise, sad and confounded in appearance, they shall bow themselves to the ground, even unto their feet, and the Figure shall point to them with his hand, his face being turned toward Paradise; and the choir shall begin: ℟

"Behold Adam is become as one [of us]."[32]

And when this is ended, the Figure shall go back unto the church.

Then shall Adam have a spade, and Eve a mattock, and they shall begin to till the ground, and they shall sow wheat therein. After they shall have finished their sowing, they shall go and sit for a season in a certain place, as if wearied with their toil, and with tearful eyes shall they look back ofttimes at Paradise, beating their breasts. Meanwhile shall the Devil come and plant thorns and thistles in their tillage, and then he shall depart. When Adam and Eve shall come to their tillage, and when they shall have beheld the thorns and thistles that have sprung up, stricken with grievous sorrow, they shall cast themselves down upon the ground; and remaining there, they shall beat their breasts and their thighs, manifesting their grief by their gestures; and ADAM *shall then begin his lamentation:*

Woe worth the hour—hateful for ever more—[33]
That e'er my sinfulness so whelmed me o'er!
That I foresook the Lord whom all adore!
To succour me, whom shall I now implore?

quo praeceperam tibi, ne comederes, maledicta terra in opere tuo: in laboribus comedes ex ea cunctis diebus vitae tuae. Spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi, et comedes herbam terrae. In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane, donec revertaris in terram de qua sumtus es: quia pulvis es, et in pulverem reverteris." (*Genesis*, iii, 17-19.)

[32] *Ecce Adam quasi unus.* "Responsorium following the eighth lesson at Matins on the "Sunday of Septuagesima." Studer, 53.

The rest of the text, as quoted by Studer, reads: . . . *factus est, sciens bonum et malum: videte ne forte sumat de ligno et vivat in aeternum.* Based on the Vulgate, *Genesis*, iii, 22: "Et ait: Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis factus est, sciens bonum et malum: nunc ergo ne forte mittat manum suam, et sumat etiam de ligno vitae, et comedat, et vivat in aeternum—[Et emisit eum Dominus Deus de paradiso voluptatis," etc.]

In the translation of the first phrase of the responsorium, I have quoted the Douai Version, since that translation naturally corresponds more closely to the language of the Vulgate than does the King James Version. The latter version has 'man' instead of 'Adam' in the passage quoted.

[33] For change of metre, see Note 5.

Here let Adam look back at Paradise; and he shall lift up both hands toward it; and devoutly bowing his head, he shall say:

O Paradise! How sweet to dwell in thee!
Garden of glory! Oh how fair to see!
Thence, for my sin, must I an outcast be;
Hope of return is ever lost to me!
I was therein; but little joy I got;
Through heeding counsel false I thence was brought.
Now I repent; scorn earn I, as I ought.
'T is all too late, my sighing boots me naught.
Where was my memory? whither fled my wit?
That I, for Satan, glory's King should quit!
Now, sore my grief—no help is there in it;
My sin on history's pages shall be writ.

Then shall Adam lift up his hand against Eve, who shall have been set some little distance away, on higher ground, and moving his head with great indignation, he shall say unto her:

O evil woman, full of perfidy!
How quickly to perdition brought'st thou me,
When thou mad'st sense and reason both to flee!
Now I repent, but can no pardon see.
To evil how inclined wert thou to cleave!
How quick the serpent's counsel to receive!
Through thee I die, through thee my life I leave.
Writ in the book thy sin shall be, O Eve!
Seest thou these tokens of confusion dread?
Earth doth perceive what curse o'erhangs our head;
'T was corn we sowed—thistles spring up instead.
Greatly we've sweat, ill have we profited!
Thou seest the outset of our evil state;
Great sorrow 't is, but greater doth await;
To hell shall we be brought, without rebate;
Pain shall not fail us, neither torment great.
O wretched Eve! How seemeth it to thee?
This hast thou gained thee as thy dowery:
Ne'er more canst thou bring man felicity,
But aye opposed to reason thou wilt be.
All they who come hereafter, of our seed,
Shall feel the punishment of thy misdeed;
Thou sinnedst; all must bear the doom decreed.
Late will he come who shall relieve their need.

Then let EVE *make answer unto Adam:*

Adam, dear lord, much hast thou chidden me,
And much reviled and blamed my villainy;
If I have sinned, my punishment I dree;

Guilty I am, of God I'll judgëd be.
Toward God and thee much evil have I wrought;
'Gainst my offence long shall reproach be brought;
My fault is great, my sin torments my thought!
O wretched me! Of good in me is naught!
No ground have I wherewith to make my plea,
That God's just doom be not pronounced on me;
Forgive me!—no atonement can I see,
Else would my sacrifice be offered free.
A miserable sinner, vile within,
Hiding my face from God for my great sin—
Oh, take me, Death! Now let my death begin!
Shipwrecked and lost, the shore I cannot win.[34]
The serpent fell, the snake of evil fame,
Caused me to eat the apple, to my shame;
I gave it thee—to serve thee was mine aim;
For this thy sin thyself I may not blame.
Oh, why did I my Maker's will defy?
Wherefore, dear lord, thy teachings thus deny?
Thou sinnedst, but the root thereof am I!
Our sickness doth a long, long cure imply.
For my great error, my adventure vain,
Our seed, henceforth, will dearly pay again;
The fruit was sweet, bitter will be the pain!
In sin we ate, ours will the guilt remain.
Yet, none the less, my hope in God I base:
Sometime atonement will our guilt efface,
And I shall know God's favour and his grace;
His power will bring us from that evil place.

Then shall the Devil come, and three or four other devils with him, bearing in their hands chains and iron shackles, which they shall place on the necks of Adam and Eve.

And certain ones shall push them on, others shall drag them toward hell; other devils, however, shall be close beside hell, waiting for them as they come, and these shall make a great dancing and jubilation over their destruction; and other devils shall, one after another, point to them as they come; and they shall take them up and thrust them into hell; and thereupon they shall cause a great smoke to arise, and they shall shout one to another in hell, greatly rejoicing; and they shall dash together their pots and kettles, so that they may be heard without. And after some little interval,

[34] "Em peril sui, ne puis venir a rive.' 'Peril' often refers particularly to danger of shipwreck. Cf. "Seint Michiel del Peril," "Saint Michael of the Peril (of the Sea)," *Chanson de Roland,* 2394.

the devils shall go forth, and shall run to and fro in the square; certain of them, however, shall remain behind in hell.[35]

Then shall come Cain and Abel.[36] *Let Cain be clad in red garments, but Abel in garments of white; and they shall till the ground that hath been made ready; and after* ABEL *shall have rested a little from his labor, let him address his brother Cain in a fond and friendly fashion, saying unto him:*

O Cain, my brother, of one blood are we;
Both Adam's sons—the first of men was he—
And of one mother, also,—Eve hight she;
In serving God, let us no niggards be.
To do our Maker's hests let us be fain;
So serve him that we shall his love regain,
Which our poor parents lost through folly vain.
Let steadfast love abide betwixt us twain.
So serve we God that we may please him aye,
Pay him his dues in full, keep naught away;
If we with cheerful hearts his word obey,
No dread of death our souls shall e'er affray.
Pay we his tithes, his tributes justly tell,[37]
First-fruits and offerings, sacrifice as well;
If ever greed do us to fraud impel,
Without remission we'll be lost in hell.

[35] "Another set of characters, drawn from the same source as Balaam's ass, from "popular revels and merry makings, was yet to join the 'procession [Processus Prophetarum.] "These were the devils. They make their first appearance on the religious stage in the "*Sponsus* of Limoges (*Les Vierges sages et les Vierges folles*). At the end of the play, "when the foolish virgins return from a fruitless search for oil, they find that during "their absence the bridegroom has arrived and welcomed home their wiser companions. "As they stand clamouring at the gate, *modo accipiant eas daemones et praecipitentur in* "*infernum*, say the concluding stage directions. These 'daemones' undoubtedly wore an "appropriate costume, though the MS. is silent on this point. Soon we shall find them "parading the stage in grotesque disguise, sallying forth among the spectators, arousing "terror but also provoking merriment. They supply an intermittent interlude which marks "off the various episodes of the main play, and relieve by their capers and grimaces the "tedium of a long drawn-out religious rite. Hell has now become the necessary counter-"part of Paradise, and the clashing of kettles and cauldrons is heard in answer to the songs "of angelic choirs. 'In the growth of these devil scenes,' says Chambers, 'may we not "trace the influence of those masked and blackened demon figures who from all time had "been a dear scandal of the Kalends and the Feast of Fools?'" Studer, xvi.

[36] "Here begins the Second 'Act' of the play, that of 'Abel and Cain'." Studer, 53. In the text there is no break between the two divisions.

"In the Scripture, the death of Adam and that of Eve follow the murder of Abel. "The author of our drama has reversed this order, so as to detach more completely the "episode of the fratricide." Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, i, 86.

Studer, likewise, (p. xvii) calls attention to the fact that the author of *Adam*, in order to heighten the effect of the play, occasionally departs from the scriptural account, as when he places the creation of Eve before, instead of after, Adam's installation in Paradise.

[37] "Other ecclesiastical playwrights, in imitation of the present scene, direct the atten-"tion of the spectators to the necessity of paying conscientiously all tithes and dues to "which the church lays claim." Studer, 53.

Betwixt us twain let great affection be,
Let never envy come, nor enmity;
For why should strife arise 'twixt thee and me,
When all the earth to us hath been made free?

Then shall CAIN *look at his brother Abel, as if mocking him; and he shall say unto him*:

Good brother Abel, featly canst thou preach!
Canst order well thy points, and stablish each;
But should one practice that which thou dost teach,
In a few days, his gifts their end would reach!
This giving tithes ne'er suited me one whit.
Thou, with thy stuff, thy pious vows acquit,
And I, with mine, will do what seems me fit;
If I do wrong, thou'lt not be damned for it!
To love each other, Nature taught us twain;
Let neither, then, dissemble aught, or feign;
Whiche'er of us shall raise contention vain,
Let him pay dear and have good cause to plain.

Let Abel again address his brother Cain; since Cain hath answered him more mildly than is his wont, he shall say:

ABEL. Good brother Cain, now list to me.[38]
CAIN. Gladly! Pray tell what moveth thee.
ABEL. Thine own advantage.
CAIN. Better still!
ABEL. Rebel no more against God's will,
Nor flaunt thy froward hardihood:
This I adjure thee.
CAIN. Well and good!
ABEL. Then let us sacrifice, that thus
The Lord may be well pleased with us;
If his forgiveness thus we win,
He will no more regard our sin,
Nor heaviness our souls shall touch;
To gain his love doth profit much.
Come, let us on his altar set
Such gifts as shall his favor get;
Let us his love beseech, and pray
That he defend us night and day.

Then shall CAIN *make answer, as if Abel's counsel were acceptable to him, saying*:

Good brother, thou hast said aright!
This sermon didst thou well indite,
And I will pay good heed to it;
Let's make our offerings, as is fit.

[38] For change of metre, see Note 5.

What offerest thou?

ABEL. A lamb I'll bring,
The fairest and the choicest thing
That I can find in all the fold;
That one I'll offer, nor withhold;
And incense, also, will I bring.
Now I have told thee everything;
What offerest thou?

CAIN. Wheat from my field,
Such as God suffereth it to yield.

ABEL. The choicest?

CAIN. God forbid! Instead,
From that, tonight I'll make my bread.

ABEL. Such sacrifice will not avail
To please him.

CAIN. Pish! a silly tale!

ABEL. Thou'rt a rich man, much cattle hast—

CAIN. That have I!

ABEL. Count them, to the last,
And give to him a tenth of all;
This part shalt thou God's portion call.
Offer him this whole-heartedly,
And rich reward shall come to thee.
Wilt do this?

CAIN. Fie! Thou'rt mad, I guess![39]
To give a tenth were foolishness;
Of ten, there'd then be left but nine!
A fig for all thy counsel fine![40]
Come, let each offer severally
What seems him good.

ABEL. So let it be.

Then shall they go unto two great stones, which shall have been made ready for this purpose. The one stone shall be set at such a distance from the other that, when the Figure appeareth, Abel's stone shall be on his right hand, but the stone of Cain on his left. Abel shall offer up a lamb, and incense, whence he shall cause smoke to arise. Cain shall offer a handful of corn. Then the Figure shall appear, and he shall bless Abel's offering, but the offering of Cain shall he regard with scorn. Wherefore, after the oblation, Cain shall set his face against Abel; and when their sacrifices are ended, they shall go again unto their own places.

[39] "Oez furor!" Literally: "Listen to (this) madness!"

[40] "Icist conseil ne valt un oef." Literally: "This advice (of thine) is not worth an egg."

Then shall CAIN *come unto Abel, seeking craftily to lead him forth, that he may slay him; and he shall say unto him*:

Good brother, let us hence! Arise!

ABEL. Wherefore?

CAIN. Ourselves to exercise,
To view the tillage of our fields,
What growth, what flowering it yields;
Then, to the meadows we will go,
Thereby we'll be refreshed, I know.

ABEL. I'll go with thee, where thou shalt say.

CAIN. Come then; it will thy pains repay.

ABEL. Thou art my elder brother, thou,
And to thy wishes I will bow.

CAIN. Do thou go first, I'll follow thee
With loitering steps and leisurely.

Then shall they both go to a place apart, and secret, as it were, where Cain shall rush upon Abel, like unto a mad man, desiring to slay him; and he shall say unto him:

Abel, thou diest!

ABEL. Wherefore? Speak!

CAIN. I will my vengeance on thee wreak!

ABEL. Have I thee wronged?

CAIN. Aye, wronged enow!
A traitor fully proved art thou.

ABEL. Surely I'm not!

CAIN. Dost thou deny?

ABEL. I'd ne'er do treachery—not I!

CAIN. Thou hast already!

ABEL. How? I'd know.

CAIN. Thou'lt know full soon.

ABEL. Can this be so!

CAIN. I'll set thee right full speedily.

ABEL. But thou canst nothing prove 'gainst me.

CAIN. The proof 's here!

ABEL. God will overthrow it.

CAIN. I'll slay thee!

ABEL. God will surely know it.

Then shall CAIN *lift up his right hand threateningly against him, saying*:

Lo, this is what will prove the case!

ABEL. In God alone my trust I place.

CAIN. 'Gainst me, small aid from him thou'lt get.

ABEL. Haply, he'll thwart thy purpose yet.

CAIN. He cannot turn thy death aside.

ABEL. By his good pleasure I abide.

CAIN. Would'st hear wherefore I will thee kill?
ABEL. O tell me it!
CAIN. Tell thee I will.
Too long hast thou usurped God's ear!
Through thee, my prayers he would not hear,
Through thee, he spurned the gifts I bore;
Dost think I'll not pay off this score?
Certes, I'll render thee thy pay!
Dead on this sand thou'lt lie today!
ABEL. If thou slay me, great wrong 't will be;
God will avenge my death on thee.
God wot I thee have harmëd not,
Nor slandered thee to him in aught;
But bade thee so thy acts employ
That thou his favor might'st enjoy,
Bade thee grant all his claims—such things
As tithes, firstfruits, and offerings;
Thereby hadst thou his love obtained;
Through failing this, his wrath thou'st gained.
God keepeth faith; who serves him fain,
Shall nothing lose, but greatly gain.
CAIN. Thou'st talked too long; thou diest now!
ABEL. Brother! what say'st? My guide wert thou;
Hither I came in perfect trust.
CAIN. Trust cannot save thee; die thou must!
I'll slay thee now! I challenge thee!
ABEL. May God be merciful to me!

Then shall Abel kneel down, facing the East; and he shall have a pot hidden underneath his garments, which Cain shall strike violently, as if he were slaying Abel himself. Abel, however, shall lie stretched out, as if he were dead.

The choir shall sing:

"Where is Abel, thy brother?"[41]

Meanwhile, the FIGURE *shall come forth from the church and go toward Cain, and after the choir shall have ended the responsorium, he shall say unto Cain, as if very wroth with him*:

Where is thy brother Abel, Cain?
To make rebellion art thou fain?
'Gainst me hast thou begun to strive?
Show me thy brother now, alive!
CAIN. How should I know where he may be?
—At home, or with his husbandry?
And why should I be forced to find him?

[41] *Ubi est Abel, frater tuus?* "Responsorium following the ninth lesson at Matins on the Sunday of Septuagesima." Studer, 55.
This responsorium is based on the Vulgate, *Genesis*, iv, 9-11.

I was not set to keep and mind him!
FIGURE. What hast thou done with him, O Cain?
Right well I know! Him thou hast slain!
Thy brother's blood to me doth cry;
Its voice hath come to me on high.
Great wickedness didst thou commit,
Thy life long thou'lt be curs'd for it;
This malison thou'lt bear for aye;
As was the deed, so be the pay!
Yet I will not that thou be slain,
But pass thy life in dole and pain;
Whoever, therefore, Cain shall slay,
A sevenfold penalty shall pay.
Thou slewest him who trusted me;
Most heavy shall thy penance be.

Then shall the Figure return unto the church; but the devils shall come forth and lead Cain away to hell, beating him again and again. Abel, also, shall they lead away, albeit in a more gentle fashion.

Then shall the Prophets be made ready,[42] *one by one, in a secret place, as their order is.*

Let the Lesson be read in the choir.

"YOU, I SAY, DO I CHALLENGE, O JEWS."[43]

And let the Prophets be summoned by name; and when they shall come forward, let them advance with dignity and utter their prophecies loudly and distinctly. So shall ABRAHAM *come first, an old man with an exceeding long beard, arrayed in ample robes; and when he shall have sat for a brief season upon the bench, let him begin his prophecy in a loud voice:*

[42] *Tunc erunt parati prophete.* "Here begins the third and last act of the drama, *i.e.* "the 'Procession of the Prophets'." Studer, 55.

[43] VOS, INQUAM, CONVENIO, O JUDEI. "These are the opening words of the pseudo-"Augustinian Sermon, out of which the Procession of the Prophets and ultimately the "*Mystère d'Adam* were evolved." Studer, 55.
. . . "the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo contra Judeos, Paganos et Arianos de Symbolo*, prob-"ably written in the sixth century, but ascribed throughout the Middle Ages to St. Augus-"tine. A portion of this 'Sermon' was used in many churches as a lesson for some part "or other of the Christmas services." Studer, xii.
"This lesson contained the scenario of a fine drama, and the clerk entrusted with the "task of reading it no doubt emphasized its dramatic character by modulating his voice, as "he gave the answers of the several prophets. As Sepet suggests, the 'lectio' may have "been divided among several readers, each of whom impersonated one of the prophets. The "participation of several 'actors' soon became an accomplished fact." Studer, xiii.
"From a collective play of the Prophets (and one such in Latin, of the eleventh cen-"tury, still exists) the passage was inevitable to individual plays of the more romantic or "historically attractive characters among them. . . . . The play of Adam is historically "interesting because evidently an outgrowth of a processional representation of the Prophets,

"Thy seed shall possess the gates of their enemies,[44] *and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed."*

Abraham, I; such is my name.
Hear, now, the message I proclaim:
Whose hope is on God's promise stayed,
Let him keep faith and trust unswayed;
Whose faith is fixed in God, for aye
Will God be with him. This I say
Through knowledge; God my faith did test;
I did his will, obeyed his hest;
For him, mine own son had I slain,
But God's hand did my hand restrain.
The unfinished offering did he bless,
'T was counted me for righteousness.
God promised me—'t is truth, indeed,—
An heir shall issue from my seed
Who shall subdue his every foe,
And strong and mighty shall he grow;
Their gates possessing, ne'er shall he
A menial in their castles be.
E'en such an one, sprung from my root,
Shall all our punishment commute;
By him the world shall ransomed be,
And Adam from his pain set free;
And men, of every race and kind
On earth, through him shall blessing find.

After these words have been said, and a little time hath intervened, the devils shall lead Abraham to hell.

Then shall come MOSES, *bearing in his right hand a rod, and in his left the tables [of stone.] After he hath seated himself, let him utter his prophecy:*

"God shall raise up a prophet from among your brethren; to him shall ye hearken as to me."[45]

"and as such, a connecting link between the church sermon and the popular drama." Charles Mills Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers,* p. 27.

"As long as religious dramas continued to be played, the *Processus Prophetarum,* in "one form or another, maintained its position on the stage. It is no small distinction to "have shown the dramatic effects that could be obtained from an apocryphal lesson and "to have provided a plan which, during four consecutive centuries, countless playwrights "were content to retain." Studer, xxix.

[44] *Possidebit semen tuum portas inimicorum suorum et in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes.—Genesis,* xxii, 17-18. In the Vulgate, however, the order of the last clause is slightly different: "et benedicentur in semine tuo omnes gentes, [quia obedisti voci meae.]"

[45] *Prophetam suscitabit deus de fratribus vestris, tamquam me ipsum audietis.* Based on the Vulgate, *Genesis,* xviii, 15, which reads: "Prophetam de gente tua et de fratribus tuis, sicut me, suscitabit tibi Dominus Deus tuus: ipsum audies." The Douai Version reads as follows: "The Lord thy God will raise up to thee a PROPHET of thy nation and thy brethren like unto me: him shalt thou hear." Both the wording and the punctuation of Moses's prophecy, as taken from the 'Sermon,' give it a slightly different meaning.

That which I speak, through God I saw:
From our own brethren, from our law,
God shall raise up a man who'll be
Prophet and sum of prophecy.
Heaven's secrets all shall he receive;
Him, more than me, shall ye believe.

Thereafter shall he be led away by the Devil into hell. In like manner shall it be done with all the prophets.[46]

Then shall come AARON, *in the vestments of a bishop, bearing in his hand a rod having flowers and fruit; and being seated, let him say:*

"From this rod the flower that springeth
Perfume of salvation bringeth;
Sweet its fruit, 't will end all crying
And all sorrow for our dying."[47]

[46] *Similiter omnes prophete.* "It will be noticed that all the Old Testament characters "in this drama are turned over to the demons after their death; the condemnation of the "wicked only is final, the just will be redeemed; meanwhile, the Devil has them in charge." Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères,* i, 87.

"Catholic tradition has defended the existence of the *limbus patrum* as a temporary "state or place of happiness distinct from purgatory. . . . . The just who had lived under "the Old Dispensation, and who, either at death or after a course of purgatorial discipline, "had attained the perfect holiness required for entrance into glory, were obliged to await "the coming of the Incarnate Son of God and the full accomplishment of his earthly "mission." *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* ix, 256 (Article: 'Limbo').

In the Fourth Canto of the *Inferno* (ll. 51-61), Vergil relates to Dante the final deliverance of these "spirits in prison":

"Io era nuovo in questo stato,
"Quando ci vidi venire un possente
"Con segno di vittoria incoronato.
"Trasseci l'ombra del primo parente,
"D'Abel suo figlio, e quella di Noè,
"Di Moisè legista e ubbidiente;
"Abraàm patriarca e David re,
"Israel con lo padre e co' suoi nati
"E con Rachele per cui tanto fe',
"Ed altri molti; e feceli beati." (Scartazzini's edition of *La Divina Commedia.*)

"I was a novice in this state,
"When I saw hither come a Mighty One,
"With sign of victory incoronate.
"Hence he drew forth the shade of the First Parent,
"And that of his Son Abel, and of Noah,
"Of Moses the lawgiver, and the obedient
"Abraham, patriarch, and David, king,
"Israel with his father and his children,
"And Rachel, for whose sake he did so much,
"And others many, and he made them blessed." (Longfellow's translation.)

According to this translation, the sixth line of the original should be punctuated after 'legista' and not after 'ubbidiente.'

[47] *Hec est virga gignens florem*
Qui salutis dat odorem.
Hujus virge dulcis fructus
Nostre mortis terget luctus.

"The author probably borrowed these lines from the Latin play which he imitated." Studer, 56.

This rod—unplanted, without root,—
Can bud, and blossom, and bear fruit;
Such Rod from mine own line shall spring
And deadly hurt to Satan bring.
No taint of fleshly birth he'll bear,
Yet man's own nature shall he wear.
This is salvation's fruit, 't will free
Adam from his captivity.

After him, let DAVID *draw nigh, arrayed in royal robes and wearing a crown; and let him say:*

"Truth is sprung out of the earth; and justice hath looked down from heaven. For the Lord will give goodness; and our earth shall yield her fruit."[48]

Out of the earth shall truth arise,
And justice watch us from the skies;
Yea, God shall give us all things good;
Our land shall richly bring us food,
Her increase yield that saving Bread
Whereby Eve's sons shall all be fed;
O'er all the earth shall he hold sway,
Shall stablish peace, drive war away.

Thereafter let SOLOMON *come forth, with the same adornments as David, yet in such a manner that he shall seem to be younger; and sitting down, let him say:*

"Being ministers of God's kingdom, you have not judged rightly, nor kept the law of justice, nor walked according to the will of God; horribly and speedily will he appear to you; for a most severe judgment shall be for them that bear rule. For to him that is little, mercy is granted."[49]

God gave to you his law, O Jews,
But faith with him ye would not use;
Wardens of his domain were ye,
He stablished you right royally;
Ye would not render judgment right,
Your verdicts were in God's despite;
His will ye would perform no more,
And your iniquity waxed sore.

[48] *Veritas de terra orta est, et justicia de celo prospexit. Et enim dominus dabit benignitatem, et terra nostra dabit fructum suum.—Pslams,* lxxxiv, 12-13, in the Vulgate, also in the Douai Version, from which the translation is taken. In the King James Version, the corresponding passage is *Ps.* lxxxv, 11-12.

[49] *Cum essetis ministri regni dei, non recte judicastis, neque custodistis legem justicie, neque secundum voluntatem dei ambulastis. [Horrende] et cito apparebit vobis, quoniam judicium durissimum his qui presunt fiet. Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia.* This prophecy is quoted literally from the Vulgate, *Liber Sapientiae,* vi, 5-7, except that the latter has 'illius' instead of 'dei' in the first clause. The translation is from the Douai Version.

Your deeds shall all to light be brought;
Most grievous vengeance shall be wrought
On those that highest sat of all.
And they shall suffer fearful fall.
But God shall set the lowly free
And raise him to felicity.
This saying shall be verified
When God's own Son for us hath died.
The masters of the law 't will be
That slay him, most unlawfully;
Against all justice, all belief,
They'll crucify him, like a thief.
But they shall lose their lordly seat,
Who envy him, and ill entreat.
Low down they'll come, from a great height,
Well may they mourn their woeful plight.
Howbeit, poor Adam shall he see
And pity, and from sin set free.

After him shall come BALAAM, *an old man arrayed in ample robes, sitting upon an ass; and he shall come into the midst, and still sitting upon his beast,*[50] *he shall speak his prophecy*:

"A Star shall rise out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall spring up from Israel, and shall strike the chiefs of Moab, and shall waste all the children of Seth."[51]

From Jacob shall a Star arise,
Reddening with heaven's own fire the skies,
A Sceptre spring from Israel
That shall 'gainst Moab's rule rebel,
Their haughtiness diminishing;
For out of Israel Christ shall spring,
And he shall be that glorious Star

[50] *Veniet in medium, et eques dicet propheciam suam.* Instead of sitting down on the bench (in scamno'), like the other prophets, to recite his prophecy, Balaam is to remain seated ('eques') on the ass. Petit de Julleville (*Histoire du Théatre en France*, i, 88) cites an amusing mistranslation of this rubric by a French savant, who rendered it: "et l'ânesse prononcera la prophétie." De Julleville contents himself with the comment: "*Eques* n'est pas *equa*, lequel n'est pas *asina*." This translator was probably influenced by his recollection of either the biblical narrative (Numbers, xxii, 22-35) or the later dramatical development of the Balaam episode in the "Prophets," whereby Balaam soon surpassed all his colleagues in popularity and the ass quickly threatened to eclipse its rider as a "star" actor.

"It is not improbable, as Chambers suggests, that the introduction of Balaam and his "ass was a concession made to the popular craze for boisterous amusements, or an attempt "on the part of the Church to turn the ribaldry of the long-established mediaeval Saturnalia "to purposes of edification." Studer, xiv. In the *Adam*, however, there is no indication that any comic effect was intended by the inclusion of Balaam among the prophets.

[51] *Orietur stella ex Jacob, et consurget virga de Israel, et percuciet duces Moab, vastabitque omnes filios Seth.—Numbers*, xxiv, 17. The translation is taken from the Douai Version.

Whereby all things illumined are.
His faithful ones he'll lead to joy,
But all his enemies destroy.

Thereafter shall DANIEL *draw nigh, in years a youth, but in his demeanour like unto an old man; and when he shall have seated himself, let him speak his prophecy, stretching forth his hand against those whom he addresseth:*

"When the Most Holy One shall have come, your anointing shall cease."[52]

You, O ye Jews, do I address,
Who use toward God great wickedness.
When he, the Chief of Saints, draws near,
Then your confusion shall appear,
For then shall your anointing cease;
All claim thereto must ye release.
This Holy One is Christ, 't is plain;
Through him the faithful life shall gain.
To earth come, for his people's sake,
On him your race great war shall make,
Shall drive him to his Passion; so
Shall they their unction's grace forego,
Thenceforth nor priest nor king shall own,
Their Law lost through themselves alone.

After him shall come HABAKKUK, *an old man; and sitting down, when he beginneth his prophecy, he shall lift up his hands toward the church, manifesting wonder and fear. Let him say:*

"O Lord, I have heard thy speech and was afraid. In the midst of the two beasts shalt thou be recognized."[53]

[52] *Cum venerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio vestra.* "This prophecy is taken *verbatim* from the 'Sermon,' and is apparently based on *Daniel*, ix, 24." Studer, 56. In the King James Version the verse cited reads: "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy." The Douai Version has, in the closing part of the verse: "and [that] vision and prophecy may be fufilled, and the saint of saints may be anointed" (following the Vulgate: "et impleatur visio et prophetia, et ungatur Sanctus sanctorum.")

[53] *Domine, audivi auditum tuum et timui, consideravi opera tua et expavi. In medio duum animalium cognosceris.* The prophecy is based on the opening part of the third chapter of *Habakkuk* (verses 1-2 in the Vulgate, verse 2 in the King James Version), but as Sepet (quoted by Studer, pp. 55-56) points out, the author of the 'Sermon' has literally translated the beginning of the same chapter in the Septuagint, which reads:

"Κύριε εἰσακήκοα τὴν ἀκοήν σου, καὶ ἐφοβήθην. Κατενόησα τὰ ἔργα σου, καὶ ἐξέστην. Ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσῃ."

The readings for the same passage in the Vulgate, Douai, and King James versions are as follows:

Vulgate: "Domine, audivi auditionem tuam, et timui. Domine, opus tuum in medio annorum vivifica illud: in medio annorum notum facies."

Douai: "O Lord, I have heard thy hearing and was afraid. O Lord, thy work, in the midst of the years bring it to life: in the midst of the years thou shalt make it known."

King James: "O Lord, I have heard thy speech, and was afraid: O Lord, revive thy

From God strange tidings have I heard,
Whereby my mind is greatly stirred;
So long did I this sign explore
My heart thereat is troubled sore:
Between two beasts shall he be shown,
By all the world he shall be known.
To him of whom this thing I say,
Behold, a star shall point the way;
Shepherds shall find him, thither brought,
Within a crib in dry stone wrought
Wherefrom the beasts shall eat their hay;
To kings he'll be declared straightway;
Thither the star shall lead the kings,
All three shall bring their offerings.

Then shall JEREMIAH *enter, bearing a scroll in his hand; and let him say:*

"Hear ye the word of the Lord, all ye men of Judah, that enter in at these gates to adore the Lord. Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel: Make your ways and your doings good, and I will dwell with you in this place."[54]

The holy word of God now hear,
All who are of his school, give ear,
All righteous Judah's mighty race,
Who in his household have a place:
Ye all shall enter by this door,
Our Lord to worship, evermore;
The Lord of Hosts to you doth cry,
The God of Israel, from on high:
Make good your ways, amend each one,
Let them be straight as furrows run,
And let your hearts be clean, withal,
Lest any evil you befall;
Let all your thoughts in good abound,
Nor wickedness therein be found.
If thus ye do, then God will come

work in the midst of the years, in the midst of the years make known."

In the next sentence of the 'Sermon' (Studer, 56) the author quotes *Isaiah*, i, 3: *Agnovit* (Vulgate, *cognovit*) *bos possessorem suum et asinus presepe Domini sui*, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib."

According to an article by Julia Cartwright in the *Magazine of Art* (Vol. V, p. 79), the Nativity begins to appear as a subject of Christian art in the sixth century (about the date of the pseudo-Augustinian 'Sermon'), and "from the first, the ox and ass are present, as emblems of the Jewish and Gentile world."

[54] *Audite verbum domini, omnis Juda, qui ingredimini per portas has, ut adoretis deum. Hec dicit dominus deus exercituum, deus Israel: Bonas facite vias vestras et studia vestra, et habitabo vobiscum in loco isto.* Vulgate, *Jeremiah*, vii, 2-3.

"In the 'Sermon' the Prophet recites another prophecy." Studer, 57.

And in your dwellings make his home,
The Son of God, the glorious,
For you come down to earth, and thus,
As mortal man, with you shall be—
The Lord of heavenly majesty!
Adam he shall from prison bring,
Himself as ransom offering.

After him shall come ISAIAS, *bearing a book in his hand, and wrapped in a large mantle; and let him speak his prophecy:*
"And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root, and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon it."[55]

Now will I tell a wondrous thing:
From Jesse's root a Rod shall spring,
Shall burgeon and bear flower withal,
Whereto great honor shall befall;
The Holy Spirit shall enclose
This flower, and shall thereon repose.

Then shall there stand up a certain one of the synagogue,[56] *disputing with Isaias; and he shall say unto him:*

[JEW.] Now, Sir Isaias, answer me:
Is this a tale, or prophecy?
This thing thou'st told—pray, what is it?
Didst it invent, or is it writ?
Thou'st been asleep—didst dream the rest?
Speak'st thou in earnest, or in jest?

ISAIAS. This is no tale, 't is very truth!

JEW. Then, let's know all of it, forsooth!

ISAIAS. What I have spoke is prophecy.

JEW. Writ in a book?

ISAIAS. Yea, verily,
—In Life's! I've dreamed it not, but seen!

JEW. And how?

ISAIAS. Through grace of God, I ween.

JEW. Thou seem'st to me a dotard grey,
Thy mind and sense all gone astray!
A soothsayer thou seem'st, indeed,
Skilled in the glass, perchance, to read;
Come, read me now this hand, and tell

(*Then shall he shew him his hand:*)

[55] *Egredictur virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet, et requiescet super eum spiritus domini.* Vulgate, *Isaias*, xi, 1-2. The translation is from the Douai Version.

[56] According to Sepet (quoted by Studer, p. xviii), the representatives of the synagogue occupied a bench set across the portico of the church, to the left of the one reserved for the prophets.

Whether my heart be sick or well.

ISAIAS. Thou hast sin's murrain in thy soul,
Ne'er in thy life shalt thou be whole!

JEW. Am I, then, sick?

ISAIAS. With error sore.

JEW. When shall I mend me?

ISAIAS. Never more!

JEW. Begin thy soothsaying, I pray.[57]

ISAIAS. There'll be no lie in what I say.

JEW. Come now, re-tell thy vision, quick!
If 't was a rod, or but a stick,
And what its blossom shall engender;
Then due respect to thee we'll render,
And all the present generation
Will listen to thy dissertation.

ISAIAS. Then, this great marvel shall ye hear;
—Such ne'er was told to mortal ear,
To such a marvel never man
Hath listened since the world began:

"Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and his name shall be called Immanuel."[58]

The time is near, within your ken,
Not tarrying or distant, when
A virgin shall conceive, most fair,
And, virgin still, a son shall bear;
His name shall be Emmanuel.
Saint Gabriel shall the message tell;
The maid shall Virgin Mary be,
She'll bear the fruit of Life's own tree,
Jesus, our Saviour, who shall bring
Adam from dole and suffering,
And him to Paradise return.
That which I speak from God I learn;
All this shall surely be fulfilled,
And ye thereon your hope shall build.

Then shall come NEBUCHADNEZZAR, *adorned as befitteth a king.* [*And he shall say*:]

"Did we not cast three youths, bound, into the fire?" R.

HIS MINISTERS. *"True, O King."*

[57] Isaias (in l. 891) declares that his utterance is prophecy ('prophecie'), but his opponent sneeringly refers to it as soothsaying ('devinaille').

[58] *Ecce virgo concipiet in utero et pariet filium, et vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuhel.* Based on the Vulgate, *Isaias*, vii, 14, and *Matthew*, i, 23, although not exactly following the words of either passage.

[NEBUCHADNEZZAR.] *"Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt, and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God."*[59]

Hear now a wondrous prodigy,[60]
Unheard-of by all men that be!
This saw I with the children three
Cast in the blazing fire by me:
The fire was hot and fierce to dree,
The bright flame glowed exceedingly;
The three rejoiced and made great glee,
Within the furnace walking free.
But when I came the fourth to see,
(Great comfort to the rest gave he,)
His face shone, full of majesty,
The Son of God he seemed to be![61]

[59] *Tunc venit NABUGODONOSOR ornatus sicut regem* [*decet*]: *Nonne misimus tres pueros in fornace ligatos?* R. *ministri*: *Vero, rex.* [*Nabugodonosor*]: *Ecce video quatuor viros solutos deambulantes in medio ignis, et corrupcio nulla est in eis, et aspectus quarti similis est filio dei.* "This prophecy is taken literally from the 'Sermon'." Studer, 57.
The prophecy is based on the Vulgate, *Daniel*, iii, 91-92 (verses 24-25 in the King James Version), though not exactly following the language of the original. The Vulgate has 'viros' instead of 'pueros' in the first verse.

[60] For monorhyme, see Note 5.

[61] "The text of the Tours MS. is incomplete. It breaks off in the midst of the speech "of Nebuchadnezzar. Either deliberately or through an oversight, a copyist has inserted "immediately after it the *Dit des quinze signes du jugement*, which has been shown to belong "to another work and is written in a different dialect.....One of the copy- "ists, to whom the *Dit des quinze signes du jugement* was well known, may have substituted "it for the simpler, and certainly much shorter prophecy of the original, thinking no doubt "that he was thereby enhancing the effect of the closing scene. Luckily, however, he only "suppressed a very small portion of the original, probably not a hundred lines in all. Such, "at all events, is the conclusion at which most scholars have arrived." Studer, xix, xx, xxi.

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by

EDWARD NOBLE STONE

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PREFATORY NOTE

This translation of the "Processus Prophetarum" and a portion of the "Pseudo-Augustinian Sermon" is intended as an appendix to my translation of *Le Mystère d'Adam* (University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, Vol. 4, No. 2. March, 1926.) In my notes to the three documents I have not touched the much debated subject of the "evolution" of the mediaeval drama, but in the translations I have tried to give the reader an opportunity to observe the dramatic development of the "Procession of the Prophets" in the course of six centuries.

Edward Noble Stone

University of Washington
Seattle, Washington
October, 1927

A Translation of Chapters XI-XVI of the Pseudo-Augustinian

SERMON AGAINST JEWS, PAGANS AND ARIANS, CONCERNING THE CREED

Also of the ORDO PROPHETARUM of St. Martial of Limoges

"The pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo contra Judeos, Paganos et Arianos de Symbolo* [was] probably written in the sixth century, but [was] ascribed throughout the Middle Ages to St. Augustine. A portion of this 'Sermon' was used in many churches as a lesson for some part or other of the Christmas services; either on Christmas Day itself, as at Arles (sixth lesson at Matins), or on Christmas Eve, as at Rome (fourth lesson at Matins). In England it appears generally to have been read on the fourth Sunday in Advent. In both the Sarum breviary and that of York, it furnishes the lessons for second Nocturn.....

"The liturgical play of St. Martial of Limoges follows the 'Sermon' closely, but converts it wholly into a dramatic dialogue. In addition it exhibits two important alterations. The 'Sermon', with the exception of the prophecy of the Sibyl, was in prose; the St. Martial version, on the other hand, is metrical throughout. Secondly, the list of the prophets is slightly altered. Not only is the order different, but Zachariah is suppressed and Israel added." Studer, *Le Mystère d'Adam,* xii-xiv.

An exhaustive study of the "Ordo Prophetarum" was published in 1921 by Karl Young (*Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters,* Vol. xx, pp. 1-82). Professor Young's article contains the full Latin text of Chapters XI-XVI of the Sermon, as well as those of the Ordo Prophetarum of Limoges and of Laon, of a Latin description of the Ordo Prophetarum at Tours, of the Ordo Prophetarum (or Festum Asinorum) of Rouen, and of two liturgical fragments of similar nature, one associated with Einsiedeln, the other of uncertain origin.

In making these translations I have followed, for the Sermon, the text of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (Vol lii, pp. 1125-1127); for the Ordo Prophetarum, that of Michel (*Théâtre français au moyen âge, publié d'après les manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Roi, par MM L. J. N. Monmerqué et Francisque Michel* [*xi*e*-xiv*e *siècle*]. Paris. Firmin Didot. pp. 6-9). Michel's edition was published in 1839. The text was corrected and emended by Charles Magnin and published in the *Journal des Savants,* February, 1846. I have set Michel's original text side by side with my translation.

A SERMON AGAINST JEWS, PAGANS AND ARIANS, CONCERNING THE CREED. (XI-XVI.)

XI. *Against the Jews, out of Isaias and Jeremias.*—You, I say, do I challenge, O Jews, who even unto this present day deny the Son of God. Are not these your own words, what time ye beheld Him doing miracles, and tempting Him said: "How long dost thou hold our souls in suspense? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly."[1] But He sent you to consider his miracles, saying: "The works that I do, they bear witness of me;"[2] that witness might be borne of Christ, not by words, but by deeds. But ye, moreover, not acknowledging the Saviour, who was working salvation in the midst of your land,[3] but rather adding unto your wickedness, did say: "Thou givest testimony of thyself; thy testimony is not true."[4] But what He answered you thereto, that ye would not heed. "Is it not written in your Law," saith He, "that the testimony of two men is true?"[5] Ye transgressors of the Law, give heed to your own Law! Ye seek testimony concerning Christ; in your Law it is written that the testimony of two men is true; let there come forth then from your Law, not merely two, but many witnesses of Christ, and let these confound them that be hearers of the Law but not doers thereof.

Do thou, now, ISAIAS, bear witness unto Christ.

"Behold," saith he, "a virgin shall conceive and shall bear a son, and ye shall call his name Emmanuel, which is, being interpreted, God with us."[6]

Let now another witness come forth. Thou, too, O JEREMIAS, bear witness unto Christ.

"This," saith he, "is our God, and there shall no other be accounted of in comparison of him. He found out all the way of knowledge, and gave it to Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved. Afterwards he was seen upon earth and conversed with men."[7]

Behold, two competent witnesses out of your own Law, by whose testimony your hearts have not been pricked.

XII. *Out of Daniel.*—But let other and yet other witnesses be brought forward out of your Law, that the exceeding hard foreheads of His enemies

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[1] John x, 24 (Douai Version). The King James Version reads: "How long dost thou make us to doubt?"

[2] John x, 25 (King James Version). The phrase "in my Father's name" is omitted in the Sermon.

[3] Psalm lxxiv, 12 (King James). In the Vulgate and the Douai Version the corresponding passage is Psalm lxxiii, 12.

[4] John viii, 13 (Douai).

[5] John viii, 17 (King James): "It is also written in your law that the testimony of two men is true." See also: Deuteronomy xvii, 6 and xix, 15.

[6] Isaiah vii, 14; Matthew i, 23.

[7] Baruch iii, 36, 37, 38 (Douai). There are slight differences in the wording of this passage between the Vulgate and the Sermon. The former reads (verse 36): "adversus eum", the latter: "absque illo"; the former (verse 37): "hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinae et tradidit illam Jacob" etc., the latter: "qui invenit omnem viam scientiae et dedit eam Jacob" etc.

may be bruised. Now let that holy DANIEL come, a youth indeed in years, but an elder in knowledge and in graciousness;[8] let him confound all the false witnesses; even as he confounded the adulterous elders,[9] so with his testimony let him crush the enemies of Christ. Speak, holy Daniel; tell that thou knowest concerning Christ.

"When the Most Holy One shall come the anointing shall cease."[10]

Wherefore, in the presence of Him to whom ye mocking said: "Thou givest testimony of thyself, thy testimony is not true,"—wherefore did your anointing cease, save because He that was already come is himself the Most Holy One? If, as ye yourselves say, the Most Holy One be not yet come, but his coming is still to be awaited, show, then, your anointing. But if (which is indeed the truth) your anointing hath ceased, confess, then, that the Most Holy One is indeed come. For He himself is that stone cut out of the mountain without hands of them that smite, (to wit: Christ, born of a virgin, without the hands of them that embrace;) which waxed so great that it became a mighty mountain and filled the whole face of the earth.[11] Concerning which mountain the prophet said: "Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord."[12] Concerning which David also saith: "The mountain of God, a rich mountain! Why mistrust ye the curdled mountains, the mountain wherein it hath indeed pleased God to dwell?"[13] For when the Lord Christ himself asked his disciples who men said that the Son of Man was, they answered: "Some, Elias; others Jeremias; others, John the Baptist, or one of the prophets."[14] And He: "Why mistrust ye the curdled mountains, the mountain wherein it hath indeed pleased God to dwell?" Him did Peter then

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[8] Cf. stage directions in the "Adam" immediately following l. 826.

[9] Vulgate and Douai Version, Daniel xiii, 51-62; in the Apocrypha, History of Susanna, verses 51-62.

[10] See "Adam," p. 189, footnote 52. The Sermon has "cessabit unctio"; the Adam, "cessabit unctio vestra."

[11] Daniel ii, 34, 35.

[12] Isaiah ii, 3.

[13] Psalm lxvii, 16, 17 (Vulgate); lxviii, 15, 16 (King James). This quotation, in the Sermon, reads: "Mons Dei, mons uber: utquid suspicamini montes incaseatos, montem in quo placuit Deo habitare in ipso?" The text of the Vulgate is as follows: "Mons Dei, mons pinguis. Mons coagulatus, mons pinguis: utquid suspicamini montes coagulatos? Mons in quo beneplacitum est Deo habitare in eo: etenim Dominus habitabit in finem." The Douai Version: "The mountain of God is a fat mountain. A curdled mountain, a fat mountain. Why suspect, ye curdled mountains, a mountain in which God is well pleased to dwell? for there the Lord shall dwell unto the end." The King James Version: "The hill of God is as the hill of Bashan; an high hill as the hill of Bashan. Why leap ye, ye high hills? This is the hill which God desireth to dwell in; yea, the Lord will dwell in it for ever."

In Lange's Commentary the passage is rendered thus: "A mountain of God is the mountain of Bashan, a mount full of peaks, the mountain of Bashan. Why do ye look with envy, ye many-peaked mountains, on the mountain on which God has chosen to dwell," etc. The commentator accounts for the various renderings of the Hebrew thus: "From the erroneous opinion that the mountain of God could only mean Zion, the ancient versions and interpreters have made it the subject of the clause and the mountain of Bashan the predicate, and found the sense: the mountain of God is a fruitful mountain; Bashan being taken as the type of fruitfulness. Then they put the *heights* in the place of the many peaks, because they did not understand the vowel points, and explained it symbolically of spiritual elevation." (*Commentary on the Holy Scriptures*, ix, 386-387.)

[14] Matthew xvi, 14.

acknowledge, saying: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."[15] He acknowledged the mountain, and he went up into the mountain; he bore witness to the Truth, and he was beloved of the Truth. Upon a rock[16] was Peter founded, that he might suffer death through love of Him whom thrice through fear he had denied.

XIII. *Other Testimony out of the Law and the Prophets.*—

Thou, too, O MOSES, lawgiver, leader of the people of Israel, bear witness unto Christ.

"A prophet shall God raise up for you from your own brethren, every soul that will not hear that prophet shall be cast out from among his people."[17] But that Prophet, who is called Christ,—hear ye himself in the Gospel. "A prophet," saith He, "is not without honour, save in his own country."[18]

Now let holy DAVID also come, a faithful witness, from whose seed He sprang to whom the Law and the Prophets bear witness; let him also speak concerning Christ.

"All kings of the earth," saith he, "shall adore him; all nations shall serve him."[19]

Whom shall they serve? Say, whom shall they serve? Dost thou wish to hear who it is?

"The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool."[20]

And more expressly, and by name: "Why," saith he, "have the Gentiles raged, and the people devised vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the princes met together, against the Lord and against his Christ."[21]

Let now another witness come forth: thou, too, O prophet HABAKKUK, bear witness unto Christ.

"O Lord," saith he, "I have heard thy speech, and was afraid. I have considered thy works, and trembled."[22]

What works of God did he behold, and tremble? Did he tremble beholding the fabric of the universe? Nay, verily; but hear whereat he trembled:

"In the midst of the two beasts," saith he, "shalt thou be recognized. Through thy work, O God, the Word hath been made flesh. In the midst of the two beasts shalt thou be recognized."

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[15] Matthew xvi, 16.

[16] "Super petram." Cf. Vulgate: Matt. xvi, 18: "Et ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam."

[17] "Prophetam vobis excitabit Deus de fratribus vestris, Omnis anima quae non audierit prophetam illum, exterminabitur de populo suo," Based on Deuteronomy xviii, 15 and 19, which reads in the Vulgate: "PROPHETAM de gente tua et de fratribus tuis, sicut me, suscitabit tibi Dominus Deus tuus..... Qui verba ejus, quae loquetur in nomine meo, audire noluerit, ego ultor existam."

[18] Matthew xiii, 57.

[19] Psalm lxxi, 11, in the Vulgate and Douai Version. The corresponding passage in the King James Version (Psalm lxxii, 11) reads: "Yea, all kings shall fall down before him; all nations shall serve him."

[20] Psalm cx, 1 (King James), cix, 1 (Vulgate and Douai).

[21] Psalm ii, 1 (Douai).

[22] Cf. "Adam," p. 189, footnote 53.

Who art thou? How far art thou descended? Thou hast made me to tremble, because thou, the Word, through whom were all things made, hast lain in a manger! "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib."[23] In the midst of the two beasts shalt thou be recognized. What meaneth this: In the midst of the two beasts; save either: In the midst between the two Testaments, or: between the two thieves, or: between Moses and Elias, who talked with Him on the Mount?[24]

"The Word," saith he, "did walk, and went forth into the fields.[25] The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."[26]

This also doth JEREMIAS say: "Afterwards did he shew himself upon earth, and conversed with men."[27]

Behold, how the witnesses of the truth agree among themselves! Behold, how they confound the children of falsehood!

Do these things suffice you, O Jews? Or shall I bring in, to your confusion, yet other witnesses out of your Law and out of your people, that they may bear their testimony to Him to whom ye mocking said: "Thou givest testimony of thyself; thy testimony is not true"? But if I were to gather together out of the Law and the Prophets all the things that have been spoken concerning Christ, sooner would time fail me than the abundance of these things!

XIV. *The Testimony of Simeon and of Zacharias.*—Nevertheless, that aged man, born of your own people but not left in your error, the holy SIMEON,—him will I lead into your midst; who indeed was rightly held to lack the light of this world, until he beheld the true Light. Whom in truth old age was urging to depart; but he was yet awaiting that One whom he knew to be at hand. When, therefore, this aged man had been warned of the Holy Spirit that he should not die before he had beheld the Christ of God, knowing that He was now born, he journeyed to the temple. But when he saw Him being carried in His mother's arms; when devout old age recognized divine infancy; then took he the Babe into his own arms. He was, indeed, bearing the infant Christ, but Christ was guiding the aged man. He guided, who Himself was carried, lest that other should be released from the body or ever the promise had been fulfilled. But what Simeon said, Whom he confessed,—that learn ye now, O ye foes, not of Christ, but of your own selves! For, blessing God, that aged man cried, saying:

> "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."[28]

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[23] Isaiah i, 3.

[24] Matthew xvii, 3; Mark ix, 4; Luke ix, 30.

[25] Apparently not a direct quotation from Habakkuk, but perhaps a summary of part of Chapter iii.

[26] John i, 14.

[27] Vulgate (and Apocrypha), Baruch iii, 38.

[28] Luke ii, 29, 30.

Likewise the parents of John, ZACHARIAS and ELIZABETH, barren in their youth, fruitful in their old age,—let them also bear their witness unto Christ. Let them say what they know concerning Christ, and let them raise up a fitting witness for Christ. For to their little son they say:

> "Thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest; for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways."[29]

And to the Virgin Mother herself ELIZABETH saith:

> "Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? For, lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy."[30]

For John, perceiving that the mother of his Lord had come unto his own mother, being yet placed within the confines of the womb, saluted with his movement Him whom he could not greet with his voice. What was afterward spoken by JOHN himself, forerunner and friend, humble and most faithful servant, become a fitting witness, so much the greater among them that are born of women in that he was thought to be what he was not? For the Jews believed that he was the Christ; but he ever cried out that he was not, saying:

> "Who think ye that I am? I am not he. But, behold, there cometh one after me, from whose feet I am not worthy to unloose the latchet of his shoes."[31]

O faithful witness and friend of the true Bridegroom! How greatly wouldst thou have abased thyself, hadst thou said that thou wert worthy to loose the latchet of His shoe! But inasmuch as thou sayest that thou art unworthy to do this, thou dost confute those false winesses, the Jews. And these things were spoken by thee before thou hadst seen Christ. But when He himself came to thee,—the lofty one,—for the sake of the fulfilment of His office humbling himself to be baptized of thee,—He that was without any sin soever,—what answer thou madest, whom thou didst acknowledge Him to be, what manner of witness thou didst bear; let those His enemies hear, who do not wish to hear:

> "Behold," saith he, "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."[32]

> And he said further: "Comest thou to me to be baptized? I have need to be baptized of thee."[33]

The servant acknowledged his Lord; he who was bound in the fetters of original sin acknowledged Him who was free from every bond of sin. The

[29] Luke i, 76.
[30] Luke i, 43, 44 (King James).
[31] See Mark i, 7; Luke iii, 16; Acts xiii, 25. The quotation in the Sermon does not exactly follow the wording of any of these passages.
[32] John i, 29 (King James).
[33] John iii, 14. The order of the clauses is reversed in the Sermon.

herald acknowledged the Judge; the creature, the Creator; the bridesman,[34] the Bridegroom. For these also are the words of John:

> "He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom standeth and heareth him and rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice."[35]

XV. *Out of the Books of the Gentiles.*—Do these things suffice you, O Jews? So many witnesses, so great testimony, out of your own Law and your own people! Or will ye yet, with shameless mind, dare to say that men of another people, another race, ought to give testimony unto Christ? But if ye say this, He answereth you, saying: "I was not sent but to the sheep that are lost of the house of Israel."[36] But even as Paul upbraideth you, in the Acts of the Apostles: "To you first it was necessary that the word of God be proclaimed; but seeing ye have rejected it and judged yourselves not worthy of eternal life, lo," saith he, "we turn to the Gentiles:"[37] even so let us also show that from among the Gentiles testimony hath been offered unto Christ; for Truth hath not kept silence, crying aloud even with the tongues of her own enemies.

When that most eloquent of poets said in one of his songs:

> "Now from the lofty heaven is a new race sent down,"[38]

was he not giving testimony to Christ? This might, indeed, be doubted, were I not to bring into your midst other competent witnesses from among the Gentiles, speaking many words to this effect.

Nor shall I overlook that king who humbled your haughtiness by taking you captive, to wit: NEBUCHADNEZZAR, King of Babylon. Speak, Nebuchadnezzar! What sawest thou in the furnace, into which thou hadst unjustly sent three just men? Tell, tell what was revealed unto thee!

> "Did we not send," saith he, "three men bound into the furnace?" And they say unto him: "True, o King." "Lo!" saith he, "I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and there is no hurt in them; and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God."[39]

O thou stranger-born, whence hast thou this? Who declared this thing unto thee? What Law? What prophet? Not yet, forsooth, hath He been born into the world; yet the likeness of Him who is to be born is recognized by thee. Whence hast thou this? Who declared this thing unto thee? Unless

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[34] *Paranymphus.*

[35] John iii, 29. The quotation in the Sermon varies very slightly from the text of the Vulgate.

[36] Matthew xv, 24 (Douai).

[37] Acts xiii, 46. Slight variation between the text of the Sermon and that of the Vulgate.

[38] Vergil, *Ecl.* iv, 7: "Jam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto."

[39] Daniel iii, 91, 92 (Vulgate and Douai); iii, 24, 25 (King James). Here, also, the text of the Sermon differs slightly from that of the Vulgate.

it be that thus the divine fire inwardly enlightened thee, so that, what time the Jews thine enemies were being held captive in thy land, thou mightest thus bear witness to the Son of God.

XVI. *From the Sibylline Oracles. The Prophecy of the Sybil.*—But because in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word standeth,[40] even as our Lord himself, confuting your stubbornness, saith: "It is written in your Law that the testimony of two men is true," so again from among the Gentiles let a third witness be brought in, that the testimony to the truth may be confirmed in every point. Let us set before you what the SIBYL uttered, likewise prophesying concerning Christ, that with one stone the foreheads of both may be stricken, to wit: those of the Jews and of the Pagans, and that with their own sword, like unto Goliath,[41] all the enemies of Christ may be smitten. Hear now what she hath said:[42]

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[40] Deuteronomy xix, 15.

[41] I Samuel (Called in Douai and Vulgate, I Kings) xvii, 50, 51.

[42] The two quotations in this chapter of the Sermon are evidently borrowed from St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei,* Lib. xviii, Cap, xxiii). In that chapter St. Augustine speaks of the Erythraean Sibyl, "who is known to have uttered many clear prophecies concerning Christ, more than the other Sibyls." He, too, points out the difficulty of following the strict rules of the acrostic in a Latin translation, since the Latin alphabet has no letter corresponding to the Greek Υ. The second quotation he gives in prose form, translating from various Greek verses cited by Lactantius (*Divinae Institutiones,* Lib. iv, Cap. xviii); saying that he prefers to consolidate in a single somewhat lengthy passage what Lactantius has set down in numerous short groups of verses.

An older acrostic version of the Sibyl's prophecy, in Greek dactylic hexameters, is given by Eusebius (*Constantini Magni Oratio ad Sanctorum Coetum,* Cap. xviii). In the nineteenth and twentieth chapters of the same work, Eusebius quotes, in full, the "Messianic Eclogue" of Vergil.

The text of the first quotation, as given in the Sermon and by St. Augustine, is as follows:

IHΣOYΣXPEIΣTOΘEOYYIOΣΣΩTHP

Judicii signum, tellus sudore madescet.
E coelo Rex adveniet per saecla futurus.
Scilicet in carne praesens ut judicet orbem.
Unde Deum cernent, incredulus atque fidelis
Celsum cum sanctis, aevi jam termino in ipso.
Sic animae cum carne aderunt, quas judicat ipse.
Cum jacet incultus densis in vepribus orbis,
Rejicient simulacra viri, cunctam quoque gazam.
Exuret terras ignis, pontumque, polumque
Inquirens tetri portas effringet Averni.
Sanctorum sed enim cunctae lux libera carni
Tradetur, sontes aeternaque flamma cremabit.
Occultos actus retegens, tunc quisque loquetur
Secreta, atque Deus reserabit pectora luci.
Tunc erit et luctus, stridebunt dentibus omnes.
Eripitur solis jubar, et chorus interit astris.
Solvetur coelum, lunaris splendor obibit.
Dejiciet colles, valles extollet ab imo.
Non erit in rebus hominum sublime vel altum.
Jam aequantur campis montes et caerula ponti.
Omnia cessabunt, tellus contracta peribit.
Sic pariter fontes torrentur, fluminaque igni.
Sed tuba tunc sonitun tristem demittet ab alto
Orbe gemens facinus miserorum variosque labores,
Tartareumque chaos monstrabit terra dehiscens.
Et coram hic Domino reges sistentur ad unum.
Recidet e coelis ignisque et sulphuris amnis.

The sign of Judgment: Earth with sweat shall drip;
From Heaven shall come the King, for aye to be,
Present, forsooth, in flesh, to judge the world.
God shall they see—faithless and faithful both—
On high with saints, e'en at the end of Time.
Souls shall be there, in the flesh, which he shall judge.
When Earth shall lie untilled, with brambles filled,
Men shall their idols spurn, and all their wealth.
Fire shall the lands consume, the sea, the sky,
And seek and force the gates of Avernus foul.
Free, on all flesh, the light of saints shall shine,
But sinners everlasting flame shall burn.
His hidden deeds revealing, each shall speak
His secrets; God shall ope each breast to the light.
Then wailing shall be heard, gnashing of teeth.
The sun's glow shall be quenched, with the bands of stars;
The heavens shall crumble, the moon's radiance fail.
Low shall He lay the hills, the valleys lift,
Nor lofty things nor deep remain for men,
Mounts levelled now with plains, and sky with sea.
All things shall cease; the shrunken earth shall perish,
And springs and rivers all with fire be parched.
Down from on high the trumpet's dismal sound
Shall wail the world's sad sin and all its woe,
And yawning Earth lay bar Tartarean Chaos.
Before their Lord arraigned, all kings shall stand;
And streams of fire and brimstone fall from heaven.

These words, concerning the birth of Christ, His passion and His resurrection, likewise concerning His second coming, have been spoken in such a manner, that if one will examine the beginnings of these lines in the Greek, he shall find: Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ, that is: Jesus Christ, God's Son, the Saviour. Which is also apparent when these same verses are done into Latin, save that the peculiar nature of the Greek letters could not be fully observed.

Give now most careful heed to other verses of the Sybil, more clearly setting forth the Passion of Christ:

Into the wicked hands of the unbelievers shall He hereafter come;[43]
God's cheeks shall they moreover buffet, with hands unclean;
From mouths defiled shall they spue their poisoned spittle.
But He shall meekly yield his holy back,
And suffering stripes shall hold his peace, lest any learn
What word, or whence, he came to tell to them that are below.[44]
And with a crown of thorns shall He be crowned;
For food[45] shall they give him gall, and vinegar to quench his thirst;
This board of inhospitality shall they before him set.
For thou thyself[46] didst not recognize thy God,
(Who mocketh minds of men), but thou with thorns
Didst crown Him, and didst mix the bitter gall.
But the veil of the Temple shall be rent, and at midday
Shall there be gloomy night, for three full hours.
And He shall die the death, for three days take his sleep,
And then, returning from the dead, come to the light;
The first to be called back, the firstfruits of the resurrection
to make known.

XVII ..... Now do I believe, O Jews, His enemies, that ye have been so overwhelmed and confounded by so many witnesses that ye ought to ask for nothing further,—ye who, with exceeding foolishness or, rather, madness, notwithstanding ye knew all things that had been said and written concerning Christ, did yet say unto the Truth itself: "Thou givest testimony of thyself; thy testimony is not true." .....

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[43] In manus iniquas infidelium postea veniet.
Dabunt autem Deo alapas manibus incestis.
Et impurato ore expuent venenatos sputus.
Dabit vero ad verbera simpliciter sanctum dorsum.
Et colaphos accipiens tacebit, ne quis agnoscat
Quod Verbum, vel unde venit, ut inferis loquatur.
Et corona spinea coronabitur.
Ad cibum autem fel, et ad sitim acetum dederunt.
Inhospitalitatis hanc monstrabunt mensam.
Ipsa enim insipiens tuum Deum non intellexisti,
Ludentem mortalium mentibus, sed spinis
Coronasti, et horridum fel miscuisti.
Templi vero velum scindetur, et die
Medio nox erit tenebrosa nimis tribus horis.
Et morte morietur, tribusque diebus somno suscepto,
Et tunc a mortuis regressus ad lucem veniet.
Primus resurrectionis initium revocatus ostendet.

[44] Cf. I Peter iii, 19; also, "Adam," p. 186, footnote 46.

[45] *Dederunt;* possibly for *dederint* or *dabunt.*

[46] Addressed to the Jewish nation. Cf. the speech of the Sibyl in the "Prophets" of St. Martial of Limoges: "Judea incredula, cur mane[n]s adhuc inverecunda?"; also, Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* IV, xviii): "Et alia Sibylla Judaeam terram his versibus increpat: *Αὐτὴ γὰρ δύσφρων, τὸν σὸν Θεὸν οὐκ ἐνόησας,*" etc.

THE *ORDO PROPHETARUM* OF ST. MARTIAL OF LIMOGES

Omnes gentes[47]
Congaudentes
Dent cantum leticie.
Deus homo fit,
De domo Davit
Natus hodie.

PRECENTOR. Let all nations, rejoicing together, raise a song of jubilee. God is now made man; of the house of David He is born today.

O Judei,
Verbum Dei
Qui negatis,[48]
Hominem vestre legis
Teste[49] regis
Audite per ordinem;
Et vos, gentes
Non credentes
Peperisse Virginem,
Vestre gentis
Documentis
Pellite caliginem.

O Jews, ye who God's Word deny: a man of your own Law, a witness of the King, [such sponsors] hear ye now in order due.

And ye, Gentiles, who believe not that a virgin hath brought forth; by the teachings of your people scatter the darkness [of your minds.]

ISRAEL

Israel, vir lenis, inque,
De Christo[50] nosti firme?

PRECENTOR. Israel, thou man of peace, tell what thou surely knowest concerning Christ.

Responsum.

Dux de Juda non tollitur[51]
Donec adsit qui notetur.
Salutare Dei Verbum
Expectabunt gentes mecum.

ISRAEL. The chief from Judah shall not be removed, until He cometh who shall be revealed. The saving Word of God the nations shall await with me.

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[47] The MS. from which Michel's text was copied formerly belonged to the abbey of St. Martial of Limoges. Petit de Julleville (*Les Mystères*, i, 37) assigns it to the year 1100, approximately.

[48] Magnin divides the lines as follows, in order to preserve the proper form of the stanza:

O Judaei!
Verbum Dei
Qui negatis, hominem
Vestrae legis,
Testem regis, etc.

[49] Testem.

[50] Magnin inserts 'quae' before 'nosti'.

[51] tolletur (?)

MOYSES

Legislator, huc propinqua,
Et de Christo prome digna.

PRECENTOR. Lawgiver, hither draw thou nigh, and utter worthy things concerning Christ.

Responsum.

Dabit Deus vobis vatem:
Huic, ut mihi, aurem date.
Qui non audit hunc audientem[52]
Expellitur[53] sua gente.

MOSES. A Seer shall God give unto you; to him, as unto me, give ear. Whoso heareth not this hearer shall be cast out from his people.

ISAIAS

Isayas, verum qui scis,
Veritatem cur non dicis?

PRECENTOR. Isaias, thou that knowest what is true, wherefore dost thou not speak the truth?

Responsum.

Est necesse
Virga[54] Jesse
De radice provei;
Flos deinde
Surget inde,
Qui est spiritus Dei.

ISAIAS. The Rod of Jesse from his root must needs exalted be; a flower thereafter hence shall spring, which is the Spirit of God.

JEREMIAS.

Huc accede, Jeremias;
Dic de Christo prophetias.

PRECENTOR. O Jeremias, draw thou nigh, and speak thy prophecies concerning Christ.

Responsum.

Sic est.
Hic est
Deus noster,
Sine quo non erit alter.

JEREMIAS. Thus is it. This is indeed our God, beside whom there shall be none other.

DANIEL.

Daniel, indica
Voce prophetica
Facta dominica.

PRECENTOR. O Daniel, declare, with voice of prophecy, the doings of the Lord.

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[52] Magnin says that this line is partially effaced in the MS. He reads 'dicentem' for 'audientem.'

[53] Expelletur (?)

[54] Virgam.

Responsum.

Sanctus sanctorum veniet,
Et unctio deficiet.

DANIEL. The Holiest One shall come, and the anointing fail.

[ABACUC.]

Abacuc, regis celestis
Nunc ostende quid sis testis.

PRECENTOR. Now, O Habakkuk, show what manner of witness thou art unto the heavenly King.

Responsum.

Et expectavi,
Mox expavi
Metu mirabilium
Opus tuum
Inter duum
Corpus animalium.

HABAKKUK. I also waited; soon was I sore dismayed, with fear of thy marvellous acts, at this thy work between the bodies of the two beasts.

DAVID.

Dic, tu Davit, de nepote,
Causas que sunt tibi note.

PRECENTOR. Thou, David, of thy grandson tell the things that unto thee are known.

Responsum.

Universus
Grex conversus
Adorabat[55] Dominum,
Cui futurum
Serviturum
Omne genus hominum.
Dixit Dominus Domino meo:
Sede ad[56] dextris meis.

DAVID. The whole converted flock shall worship the Lord, whom all the race of men that are to be shall serve.
The Lord said unto my Lord:
Sit thou at my right hand.

SIMEON.

Nunc Symeon adveniat,
Qui responsum acceperat,
Qui non aberet[57] terminum
Donec videret Dominum.

PRECENTOR. And now let Simeon draw nigh, who had the oracle received, that he should not come to his end until he should have seen the Lord.

Responsum.

Nunc me dimittas, Domine,
Finire vitam in pace,
Quia mei modo cernunt oculi
Quem misisti
Hunc mundum pro salute populi.

SIMEON. Now let me go, O Lord, to end my life in peace, because mine eyes do now behold the one that thou hast sent unto this world for the salvation of the people.

[55] Adorabit (?)
[56] a (Magnin).
[57] quia non haberet.

ELISABET.

Illud,[58] Helisabet, in medium,
De Domino profert[59] eloquium.

Responsum.

Quid est rei
Quod me mei
Mater eri visitat?
Nam ex eo,
Ventre meo
Letus infans palpitat.

PRECENTOR. Thither, Elizabeth, into the midst of these, bring forth thine utterance about the Lord.

ELIZABETH. What manner of thing is this, that the mother of my Lord doth visit me? For because of him the babe within my womb doth leap for joy.

JOANNES BAPTISTA.

De[60] Babtista,
Ventris cista clausus,
Quod[61] dedisti causa
Christo plausus?
Cui dedisti gaudium
Profert[62] et testimonium.

Responsum.

Venit talis
Sotularis[63]
Cujus non sum etiam
Tam benignus[64]
Ut sim ausus
Solvere corrigiam.

PRECENTOR. Tell now, O Baptist, for what cause didst thou, shut up within the casket of the womb, give acclamation unto Christ? To whom thou gavest joy, to him thy witness bring.

JOHN THE BAPTIST. There cometh a shoe of such a sort that I am not even worthy to dare loose the latchet thereof.

VIRGILIUS

Vates Moro[65] gentilium,
Dea[66] Christo testimonium.

Responsum.

Ecce polo,
Demissa solo
Nova progenies est.[67]

PRECENTOR. Maro, Seer of the Gentiles, bear thy witness unto Christ.

VERGIL. Lo, from the heaven unto the earth is a new race sent down.

---

[58] Illuc (Magnin).
[59] profer.
[60] Dic.
[61] Qua (Magnin).
[62] Profer.
[63] Magnin reads 'Solea nobis.'
[64] Probably substituted for 'dignus' in order to preserve the metre.
[65] Maro.
[66] Da (or Dic).
[67] Magnin prints these three lines as one, since they form a dactylic hexameter, paraphrasing Eclogue iv, 7:

Jam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.

NABUCODONOSOR.

Age! fare os laguene
Que de Christo nosti vere.

PRECENTOR. Come! Tell, winebibber, what thou dost truly know concerning Christ.

Responsum.[68]

Nabucodonosor, prophetia,
Auctorem omnium auctoriza.

PRECENTOR. Nebuchadnezzar, with a prophecy confirm the author of all things.

Responsum.

Cum revisi
Tres quo[69] misi
Viros in incendium,
Vidi justis
Incombustis
Mixtum Dei filium.
Viros tres in ignem misi,
Quartum cerna[70] prolem Dei.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR. When I returned to see the three whom I had sent into the flames, then saw I, joined unto those righteous ones all unconsumed, the Son of God. Three men into the fire I sent, but in the fourth God's offspring I behold.

SIBILLA.

Vere pande jam, Sibilla,
Que de Christo precis[71] signa.

PRECENTOR. Truly, O Sibyl, now reveal the signs that thou foreknowest concerning Christ.

Responsum.

Juditii signum,[72]
Tellus sudore madescet.
E celo rex adveniet,
Per secla futurus scilicet,
In carne presens, ut judicet orbem.
Judea incredula,
Cur manens[73] adhuc inverecunda.

THE SIBYL. The sign of the Judgment: earth with sweat shall drip; from heaven shall come the King that through the ages is to be, present in flesh, forsooth, to judge the world.

O Judaea, unbelieving, why dost thou shameless yet remain?

Incohant benedicamus.

Letabundi jubilemus;
Accurate, celebremus
Christi natalitia
Summa letitia.[74]
Cum gratia produxit gratanter
Mentibus fidelibus inluxit.

Here let the Benedicamus begin.

Rejoicing, let us shout aloud; with diligence let us celebrate the birthday of the Christ. Joy supreme, with grace, he brought, and graciously all faithful minds illumed.

---

[68] 'Rosponsum' wrongly inserted in the MS. Magnin thinks the second couplet is a later variant for the first, "qui aura paru trop grossier."

'Os laguene (lagenae)', which he translates by "bouche adonnée à la bouteille," I have rendered "winebibber."

[69] quos.

[70] cerno.

[71] praescis.

[72] Magnin properly divides these lines into four dactylic hexameters.

[73] manes.

[74] I have followed Studer's punctuation of this stanza (*Le Mystère d'Adam*, xx). He also transfers 'gratanter' from the end of the fifth line to the beginning of the sixth.

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IN
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ROMAN SURVEYING INSTRUMENTS

by

EDWARD NOBLE STONE

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS
SEATTLE
1928

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ROMAN SURVEYING INSTRUMENTS

by

EDWARD NOBLE STONE

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PREFATORY NOTE

A very limited technical knowledge of engineering subjects, and lack of access to several authorities that I should have been glad to consult, have kept me from undertaking anything more than a short general description of the principal instruments, whether Roman, Greek, or Etruscan in origin, that were used by Roman engineers in land-surveying and leveling, in laying out sites for camps and towns, and in the construction of roads and aqueducts. I hope, however, that this brief sketch may prove of interest, not only to students of Roman antiquities, but also to present-day surveyors and engineers, the worthy successors of those old Roman Agrimensores who in the early Republic were men of priestly rank and under the Empire were clothed with magisterial powers.

Edward Noble Stone

University of Washington
Seattle, Washington
February, 1928

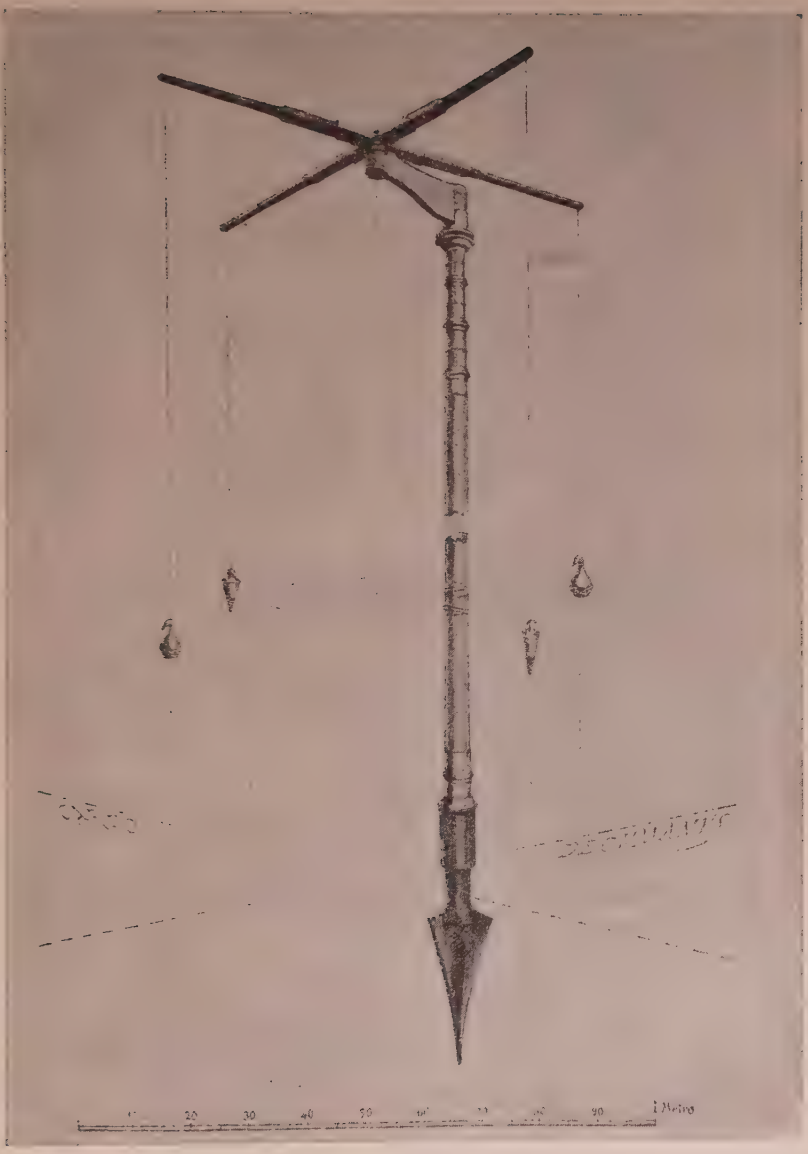

FIG. 1. Pompeian Groma. Reconstruction by Matteo della Corte.

ROMAN SURVEYING INSTRUMENTS

I.

INSTRUMENTS FOR DETERMINING THE TRUE MERIDIAN

In the age of Caesar and Cicero the star Polaris (Alpha of Ursa Minor) was about ten degrees farther away from the celestial pole than it is at the present time. The pole-star of that day was Beta of the same constellation, a star of lesser magnitude than Alpha, and therefore more difficult to locate. This is probably the reason we find no mention made by ancient writers of the determination of true meridians by ranging two plumb-lines or rods with the pole-star. Roman surveyors depended on the sun to give them their true bearings, and two devices (essentially one in principle) were utilized for this purpose, the Sun-dial ("Horologium," "Solarium") and the "Gnomon" or Pole.

A. Sun-dials

Sun-dials of many kinds were in common use among the Romans, and Vitruvius[1] gives quite full directions as to the methods to be employed in constructing and setting them up, calling attention to the fact that a dial can be accurately set only by taking the equinoctial shadow.

When a sun-dial was once correctly set, the points of compass could be determined from it, at least roughly; but the fact that it was not portable prevented its being generally employed as a surveying instrument. A modified form of the sun-dial, however, is mentioned by Vitruvius as being used in laying out the streets of a city. "In the center of the walls," he says, "[i. e., in the center of the city-site], let a marble plate be set up by means of a level, or else let the spot be made so smooth that a plate is not needed. On the exact center of that spot let a bronze gnomon be set up as a 'shadow-hunter' (called in Greek *σκιαθήρας*). At about the fifth hour of the forenoon the tip of the shadow of this gnomon must be taken and marked with a point. Then, with a pair of compasses extended to the point which is the mark of the shadow's length, beginning at this point a circumference must be described around the center. And likewise in the after-

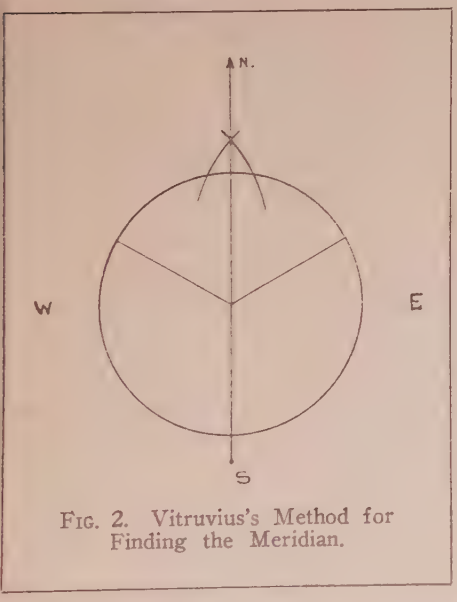

Fig. 2. Vitruvius's Method for Finding the Meridian.

[1] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 9, 7.

noon the lengthening shadow of the gnomon must be watched, and when it touches the line of the circumference and the afternoon shadow becomes equal to that marked in the forenoon, this shadow, too, must be marked with a point. From these two points arcs must be drawn, with the compasses, to their point of intersection; and through this point of intersection and the exact center of the circle a line must be extended to indicate the north and south quarters [i.e., the meridian]." Vitruvius gives further directions for marking on the circumference the eight principal points of the compass, or "eight winds." "Then," he continues, "it is evident that the lines of your streets and alleys should be laid out on the dividing lines between the quarters of two winds. For by this plan the disagreeable force of the winds will be shut off from the dwellings and blocks."[2] (Fig. 2.)

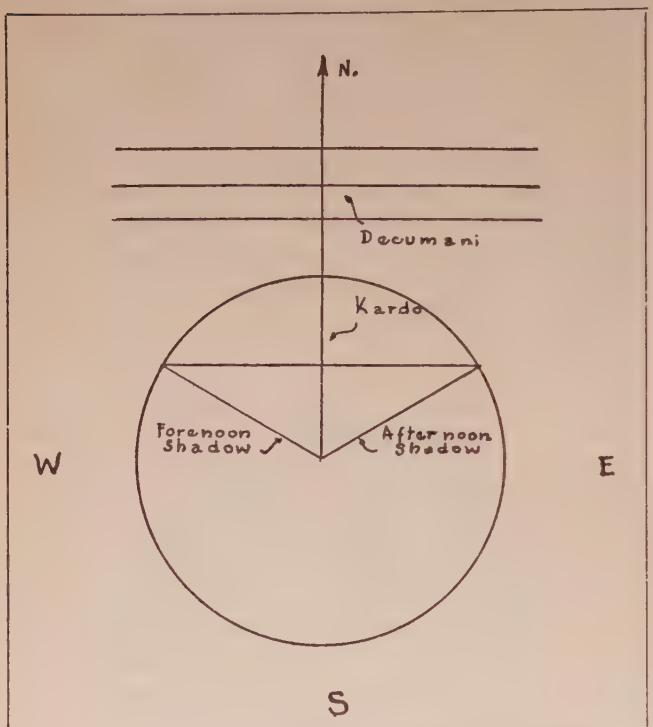

FIG. 3. Hyginus's Method for Finding the Meridian.

B. THE POLE, OR "GNOMON"

The method most commonly used by Roman surveyors in establishing a true meridian consisted in the construction of what was really a huge sun-dial, having a considerable area of level ground for its plate, and a tall pole in the place of the pin. This method (or rather, two modifications of the same method) is thus described by Hyginus:[3]

"In the first place," he says, "we will describe a circle on the ground in a level place, and in the center of it we will set up a 'sciotheras,' whose shadow will fall within the circumference part of the time; for this is a more accurate method than catching the shadow caused by the rising and the setting sun. We will watch the shadow as it wanes after sunrise. Then, when its tip arrives at the line of the circumference, we will mark that point in the circumference.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1, 6—8.

[3] Thulin, *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum* (*Hygini Gromatici Constitutio Limitum*), 152.

Likewise we will watch the shadow as its tip passes out of the circle [in the afternoon], and again mark that point in the circumference. When, therefore, we have marked the two points, in the places where the shadow enters and leaves the circle, we will measure a straight line from point to point of the circumference, and we will mark the middle point of this line. Through this middle point a straight line must be produced from the center of the circle, by extending which we shall have the Kardo [i. e., the 'principal meridian' of a survey]; and at right angles to this we will lay off the Decumani [i. e., the east and west 'base lines']." (See Fig. 3.)

The modification of this method, as described by Hyginus, consisted in taking three successive lengths of the shadow, either in the forenoon or in the afternoon, and then determining the meridian by means of a complicated geometrical formula involving the use of a circle and several triangles.

These methods of finding the true meridian could give absolutely correct results only at the time of the summer or winter solstices; yet they seem to have been employed with a fair degree of accuracy.[4]

[4] Hyginus's method is still sometimes used. William M. Gillespie, in his *Treatise on Surveying* (Part I, page 165, 1904 edition), describes a similar method, and refers to its use by Roman surveyors. This method is also described in Ernest McCullough's *Practical Surveying* (p. 115.)

II

INSTRUMENTS FOR MAKING LINEAR MEASUREMENTS

A. The "Pertica," or "Decempeda"

The "Pertica," or "perch," was a pole of seasoned wood, ordinarily ten Roman feet (9.71 English feet) in length, whence its other name of "Decempeda." Such a rod, when protected at the ends by metal shoes or ferrules,[5] is a very accurate instrument for making linear measurements. Poles twelve, fifteen, and even seventeen Roman feet (about sixteen and one-half English feet) in length were also sometimes employed. (The 17-foot "pertica," as a unit of land measure, may have been the origin of the English "rod, 'perch,' or pole" of the old arithmetic tables.) The longer poles were used in subdividing public land where the soil was of inferior quality, larger *sortes,* or lots, being assigned in such cases.[6] In running lines with the Groma (see page 223), the Pertica could also be used as a range-pole.

Cicero, Horace and other Roman writers make frequent mention of the Decempeda.[7] In his thirteenth Philippic, Cicero refers to a certain Lucius Antonius as a "most accurate 'decempedator' ['ten-foot-pole-man']," or surveyor of both public and private lands.[8]

B. Cords or Ropes

The ten-foot pole was a very convenient instrument for making measurements on slopes or over broken ground, with the aid of the plumb-bob;[9] but in open, level country its use must have been slow and tedious. It was natural, then, that ancient surveyors should seek some longer measuring device, and we learn from Hero of Alexandria that cords or ropes were used for this purpose. Hero does not say what lengths of line were thus employed, nor how their subdivisions were marked, but he does give us a good description of the method then used to keep the cord from shrinking or lengthening. "The rope," he says, "is stretched taut between two stakes, and after it has been kept in this position for a considerable length of time it is stretched again.

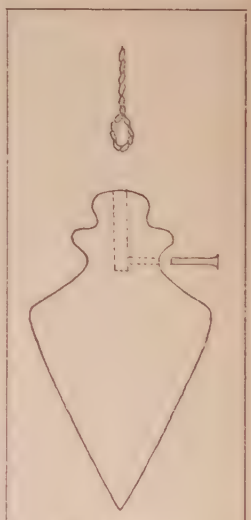

Fig. 4. Roman Plumb-bob.

[5] See footnote 18, page 224.

[6] Cf. Brandis, *Decempeda* (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* iv, 2254).

[7] Cicero, *Pro Milone* 27, 74; *Philippicae,* 14, 4, 10; *Academicae Quaestiones,* 2, 41, 126; Horace, *Carmina,* 2, 15, 14.

[8] Cicero, *Philippicae,* 13, 18, 37.

[9] Roman plumb-bobs, or "perpendicula," were similar in shape and size to those now in use. Figure 4 (taken, in part, from Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*), represents a specimen from southern Gaul. An opening in the top permits insertion of the looped end of the string, which is held in place by a short wire or pin thrust through a transverse opening below.

When this process has been repeated several times the rope is rubbed with a mixture of beeswax and resin. It is better, however, instead of stretching the rope between two stakes, to suspend it vertically for a long time with a sufficiently heavy weight attached to it."[10]

A cord thus treated was probably as accurate a measuring device as the old-fashioned Gunter's chain, or the Engineers' chain, with their two hundred or more wearing surfaces and easily bent links.[11]

I find no mention of marking-pins in connection with either the pole or the cord, but something of that sort must necessarily have been used.

C. THE "HODOMETER"

There was another instrument for making linear measurements, in use among both the Greeks and the Romans, called the "Hodometer," or "road-measurer." In principle, it closely resembled a modern odometer, cyclometer, or taximeter. Both Hero of Alexandria and Vitruvius give full directions for the construction of this instrument. The latter says:[12]

"The subject that I will now take up in my treatise is a device, not devoid of utility and designed with the greatest cleverness, which has been handed down by earlier writers; a device by means of which, either while sitting in a carriage on the highway or when sailing on the sea, we are enabled to know how many miles of our journey we have covered. Its arrangement is as follows: Let the wheels of the carriage be four and one-sixth feet in diameter, so that, when the wheel has received a definite mark on its exterior and starting from this mark begins to make one revolution on the surface of the road, when it comes back to the definite mark from which it started it will have covered the exact distance of twelve and a half feet.[13] When these wheels have thus been made ready, then to the nave of one wheel, on its inner side, let a drum be solidly fastened, having a single tooth projecting beyond the surface of its cylinder. Above this, let there be firmly attached to the body of the carriage a box holding a revolving drum set perpendicularly and mounted on a small axle. To the face of this drum, let teeth, four hundred in

[10] Hero, *Αὐτόματα* (*Vet. mathem.*, 1694, p. 245), quoted by A. de Rochas, in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (Art. *Geodesia*).

[11] "A well made rope, (such as a 'patent wove line,' woven circularly "with the strands always straight in the line of the strain), when stretched wetted, and allowed to dry with moderate strain will not vary from a chain more than one foot in two thousand, if carefully used."—William M. Gillespie, *A Treatise on Surveying*, Part I, page 15 (1904 edition.)

[12] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 10, 9.

[13] These numbers are obviously incorrect. The text of Vitruvius (ed. V. Rose) reads: "rotae.....latae per mediam diametron pedum quaternum et sextantis," and: "spatii habeat peractum pedum XII S." Some editors omit "et sextantis" from the first phrase and "S" from the second, a change which produces no better result mathematically. Charles Singer, in his chapter on "Roman Science" in *The Legacy of Rome* (edited by Cyril Bailey), says that Vitruvius gives 3⅛ as the ratio of the circumference of a circle to the diameter. This ratio would require that "et sextantis" be omitted from the first phrase, but "S" ("semis") retained in the second. It may be that Vitruvius himself originally wrote "pedum XIII" instead of "pedum XII S". This reading would involve an error in the circumference of a trifle over one English inch.

number, be fitted at equal intervals, so as to engage the tooth of the lower drum. Moreover, to the side of the upper drum let another single tooth be fitted, projecting beyond the other teeth. Again, let there be set above this a horizontal drum, toothed in similar fashion and inclosed in a box, with its teeth engaging the single tooth that has been fastened to the side of the second drum; and in this drum let there be as many holes as are the miles that the carriage can travel in one day's journey; if more or less, this will not interfere with the result. And in all these holes let marbles be placed, and in the case or box holding the drum let there be made a hole connecting with a small tube, through which, when they come to that spot, the marbles that have been placed in the drum can fall one by one into the body of the carriage and into

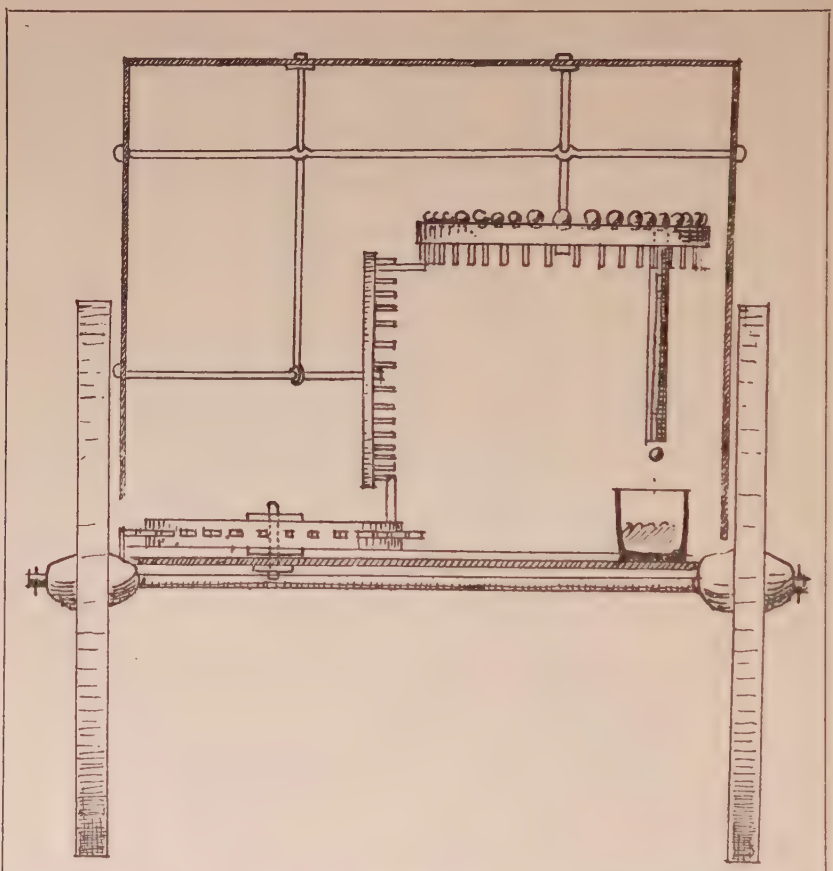

FIG. 5. Vitruvius's Hodometer.

a bronze vessel set underneath. Thus, as the wheel in its progress carries with it the lowest drum, and as the tooth of this at each revolution by striking the teeth of the upper drum forces it along, it will bring it about that when the lowest drum has revolved four hundred times the upper drum will have been

driven around once and the tooth that is fitted to its side will have pushed forward one tooth of the horizontal drum. Since, therefore, with four hundred revolutions of the lowest drum the upper one will have been turned around once, the ground covered will equal five thousand feet, that is, one [Roman]

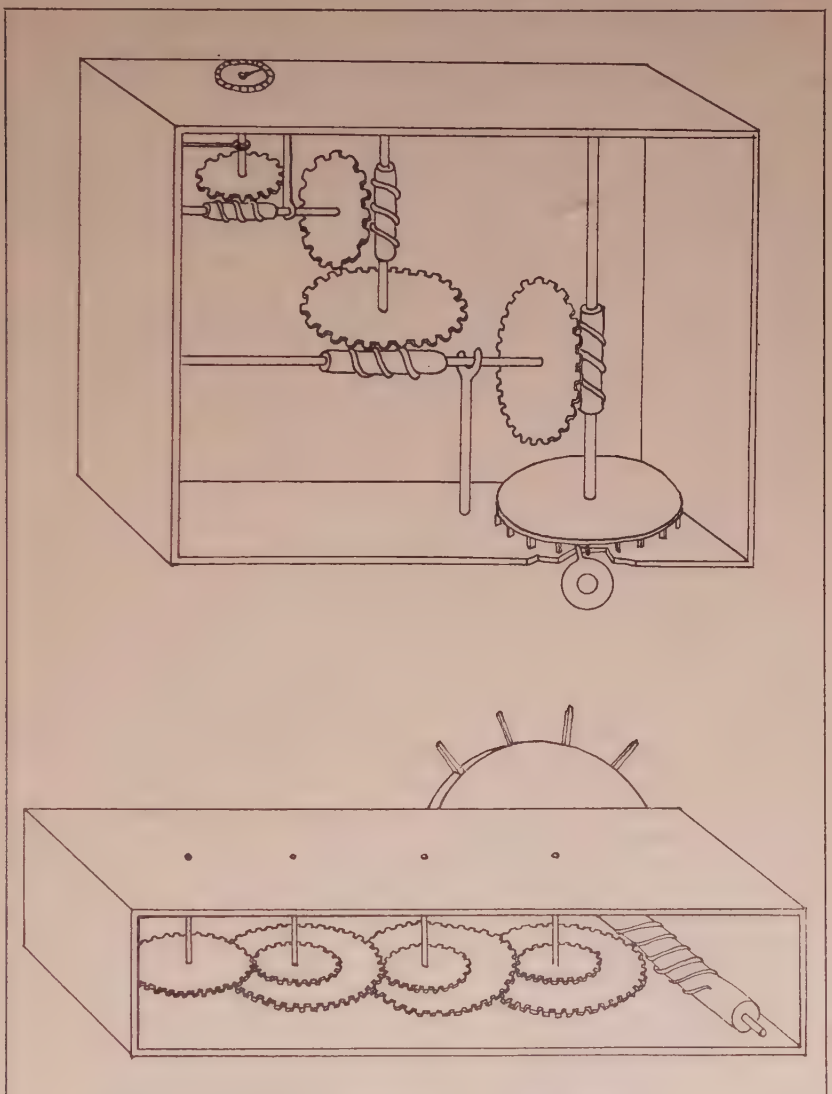

FIG. 6. Hero's Hodometers. (After Schöne).

mile. Hence, as often as a marble falls, by the sound that it makes we shall be notified that we have gone ahead one mile. Moreover, the number of the marbles gathered from below will show the number of miles covered in the day's journey." (See Fig. 5.)

Vitruvius goes on to tell how this device may also be used as a sort of "patent log" in navigation, being then connected with the axle that passes through the sides of the ship and is furnished with paddle wheels at each end.

Hero, also, describes two similar instruments for automatically recording distances traveled by land or by sea.[14] In one form of Hero's Hodometer, however, worm-gearing is employed instead of toothed wheels only, and a dial and pointer, instead of marbles falling into a bronze bowl, serve to indicate the number of miles covered. (See Fig. 6.)

The Hodometer was not used merely as a taximeter, but it was also sometimes employed by engineers for the rapid measurement of long distances, as, for example, in laying off the base of a triangle along one bank of a river whose width is to be determined, the angles at each end of the base being measured with the Dioptra. (See page 227.)

A Hodometer is listed by Julius Capitolinus in the inventory of valuable objects formerly belonging to the Emperor Commodus and sold after his death.[15]

[14] Περὶ Διόπτρας, xxxiv, xxxv (pp. 292—314.)

[15] *Hist. Aug. Scriptores.* (Quoted by A. de Rochas, in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines;* Art. *Geodesia.*)

III

INSTRUMENTS FOR MEASURING OR LAYING OFF HORIZONTAL ANGLES

A. The "Groma"

The instrument most commonly used, during the whole period of Roman history, for measuring or laying off horizontal angles, was the Groma,[16] the invention of which is generally attributed to the Etruscans, though some authorities think that the Etruscans learned its use from the Greeks. From its shape, this device was also sometimes called the Stella ("star").

While this instrument is frequently mentioned by Roman writers, no detailed description of it has been found in ancient literature, and until the second decade of the present century theories as to its form and dimensions were, for the most part, based on a rude representation of a Groma found on the tombstone of a *mensor* (surveyor) near Ivrea (the ancient Eporedia), in Piedmont, in the year 1852.[17] (See Fig. 7.) Even as authoritative a work as the 1923 edition of Harper's *Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* bases its very incomplete description of the Groma on this crude picture. Most Latin lexicons, and other similar works, likewise give only vague or absolutely false definitions of the word "Groma"; and the more modern ones are, strange to say, the more misleading in their statements. Leverett's *Lexicon* (1847) defines *groma* as "an instrument for measuring fields"—a correct definition, as far as it goes, but applying equally well to the Pertica or half a dozen other instruments. But Harper's *New*

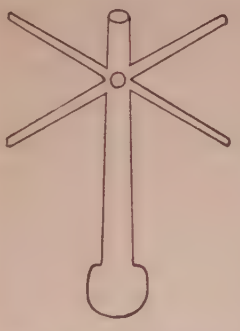

Fig. 7. Conventional Representation of Groma (from a Roman Tombstone).

[16] The word "groma" is supposed to be a corruption of the Greek γνώμων or γνῶμα, though some authorities connect it with *grumus*, "a little mound of earth." But as the Romans probably got the instrument from the Etruscans, it is possible that its name also is of Etruscan origin.

It is, perhaps, inexact to speak of the Groma as an instrument for "measuring" horizontal angles. Only right angles could be actually measured with it; but in determining the areas of "*subseciva*" (small tracts of land with irregular boundary-lines, such as river banks), which were generally cut up into a series of right-angled triangles, the cross could be swung around so as to lay off a line at any desiraed angle to the "Kardo" or the Decumani." In such a case, the side opposite each acute angle was measured, rather than the angle itself. (See also page 231).

[17] This representation is reproduced (under the article *Geodesia*) in Volume II of Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (from which Figure 7 has been copied), also in both Smith's and Harper's dictionaries of classical antiquities. The name of the surveyor was Lucius Aebutius Faustus. His epitaph is given in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (V, 6786).

The discovery, half a century later, of what were thought to be the remains of a Groma, near Eichstätt, in Bavaria, led the German scholar Hermann Schöne to attempt a complete reconstruction of the original, an account of which was published in 1901 (*Jahrbuch d. K. D. Arch. Inst.*, xvi, 127-132). This reconstruction was only partially successful, however, and it is now thought very doubtful whether the Eichstätt fragments really were parts of a Groma.

Latin Dictionary (1907) tells us that *groma* means "a surveyor's pole or measuring-rod"—a perfectly good definition of the Pertica, but no more applicable to the Groma than to a modern transit or surveyor's compass. The *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Encyclopaedia Brittanica* (under the articles "Gromatic" and "Gromatici," respectively) also refer to the Groma as a measuring-rod or pole.

In the year 1912, however, the office of a Roman surveyor, still containing many of the implements[18] of his profession, was unearthed at Pompeii. Among the articles found there was a Groma, the metallic portions of which were in a fair state of preservation. The wooden parts had, of course, disappeared, except for a few fibers adhering to the metal; but the noted Italian archaeologist, Dr. Matteo della Corte, was able to put the scattered pieces of the instrument back in their original relative positions, supplying new wooden parts whose dimensions are probably very close to those of the lost ones. Dr. Della Corte published a monograph on the Groma in 1922,[19] the main points of which were very fully reproduced by the late Professor Francis W. Kelsey, in a review of Della Corte's work written in 1926.[20]

While the Groma was used in Roman times for many of the same purposes as was the Surveyor's Compass fifty or a hundred years ago, it more nearly resembled, in form and functions, the old-fashioned Surveyor's Cross, which was also in use during the nineteenth century. (See Fig. 8.) Like the last named instrument, the Groma had two cross-bars, solidly set at right angles to each other and revolving around a spindle; in the case of each instrument, the spindle was supported by a Jacob's staff; furthermore, when either instrument was in use the staff was set a little to one side of the stake, stone, or other monument over which the center of the instrument was to be brought; but while the staff of the Surveyor's Cross was planted obliquely in the ground and the spindle brought into a vertical position by means of a ball-and-socket joint, the staff of the Groma was set in an upright position and the center of the instrument brought over the desired point by means of a swinging arm. The Surveyor's Cross had four sight-vanes projecting perpendicularly upward from the extremities of the cross-arms; the Groma had, instead, four plumb-lines suspended beneath these four extremities.

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[18] Among the articles discovered were two pairs of drawing compasses, a rule, a small ivory box the cover of which could be used as a sun-dial, ink-bottles, stylus, and the metallic ends of a Decempeda, or measuring-rod. Professor Kelsey suggests that the presence of both stylus and ink-bottles would indicate that the surveyor used waxed tablets for taking his notes, but papyrus for making his permanent records, drawings and maps. Della Corte identifies the owner of these implements as a certain Verus, supposed to have been employed by the military tribune Titus Suedius Clemens in making surveys relative to the restoration to the city of certain *loca publica* held by private individuals. These surveys were made shortly before the destruction of Pompeii in the year 79 A.D.

[19] In *Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, vol. xviii (1922).

[20] *Classical Philology*, xxi, 259-262 (July, 1926). For details regarding the form and dimensions of the Groma, I am largely indebted to this article by Professor Kelsey, and through the courtesy of the University of Chicago Press I am able to use his picture of the Pompeian instrument as Figure 1 of this bulletin.

The Groma, then, with its accessories, consisted of the following main parts: (1) a cross (the "Groma" proper) with arms of equal length (about three feet, or one and one-half feet each side of the point of intersection, which was pierced by a socket); (2) four plummets (*pondera*) suspended by cords (*fila or nervial*) from the extremities of the arms; (3) a swinging arm

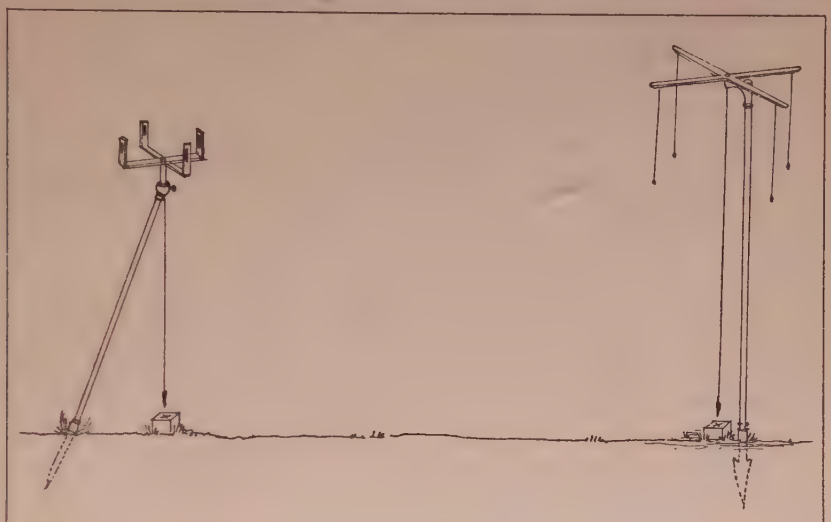

FIG. 8. Surveyor's Cross (19th Century) and Groma (1st Century).

(*umbilicus soli*), with a bronze spindle projecting upward from its outer end, on which the cross, or Groma proper, could be mounted by means of its socket; and with a bronze socket of its own, at its inner end, which slipped over another spindle firmly set on the head of the Jacob's staff, so that the arm, when mounted, stood out at right angles to the staff; (4) a Jacob's staff of wood, six or seven feet in length, the bottom of which fitted into a heavy pointed iron shoe (*ferramentum*) having tapering vertical flanges on its sides to aid in driving it firmly into the ground, while the top supported a bronze spindle which received the socket of the swinging arm. The weight of the staff, with shoe and spindle, was some seven or eight pounds.

The swinging arm (*umbilicus soli*) was a wooden bar, strengthened by metal strips fastened to its upper and lower sides. The cross-arms of the Groma proper were also of wood, but were held rigidly in place by a metal frame which also contained the socket that slipped over the spindle attached to the outer end of the swinging arm; they sloped slightly upward from the point of intersection, so as to swing clear of the *umbilicus soli*. Of the weights (*pondera*), one pair closely resembled modern plumb-bobs in both shape and size, but the others were of somewhat different form. (See Fig. 1.)

Although no ancient writer has left a description of the Groma, we do find a few directions for setting up the instrument and taking sights with it. For the most part, these directions are included in the rules and instructions

for laying out and subdividing the public lands, compiled for the benefit of prospective surveyors.

One writer[21] tells the student first to plant the Jacob's staff (*ferramentum*) near the boundary-stone from which an observation is to be made, but in such a position that the staff itself will not be on the base-line or on the line that is to be run perpendicular to the base-line. Then he must swing the arm of the instrument (*umbilicus soli*) over the top of the stone, and adjust it so that a plumb-bob dropped from the outer spindle will fall directly upon the center of the cross that is cut into the top of the stone.

A passage from Frontinus[22] gives instructions for taking the next steps. "Carefully direct all the sights," he says, "bringing one of the pairs of strings or plumb-lines, which hang with their plumb-bobs from the extremities of the cross-arms, so exactly into line [with the back 'flag' or range-pole] that the further string of the pair will be hidden from sight and the nearer one only visible to the eye." Then, by sighting across the other pair of strings, a line may be laid off at right angles to the base-line. With the instrument still in the same position, and using the first pair of strings, a fore-sight is taken to the next measured point of intersection of base-line and perpendicular. The instrument is moved ahead to this point and placed in adjustment, a back-sight and fore-sight are taken, and a perpendicular laid off. This process is repeated until the end of the base-line is reached. At each point of intersection a monument is set up, the exact point being determined by means of the plumb-bob and then marked by a cross cut into the top of the stone.

Hero[23] warns surveyors of the necessity for observing great care and accuracy in the manipulation of the Groma. He writes as follows: "In as much as some persons make use of the so-called 'Star' [see page 223] for a limited number of the processes of surveying, I feel that it is proper for me to call to the attention of those who may attempt to use the instrument the results of employing it, so that they may not, through ignorance, be unconsciously guilty of errors. Those who have already tried the instrument have, I think, experienced difficulty in using it, because the strings from which the plumb-bobs hang do not come to rest quickly but continue to swing for a considerable time; this is especially true when a brisk wind is blowing. Therefore some surveyors, for the sake of avoiding this inconvenience, make hollow wooden cylinders and endeavor, by letting the weights hang inside these, to keep them from being struck by the wind. However, if there is any contact between the weights and the sides of the cylinders, then the strings do not remain in a position exactly perpendicular to the horizon. But even if the surveyor succeeds in maintaining the strings in a perfectly vertical position, it does not follow in every case that the planes in which the two pairs of strings

[21] *Schriften der römischen Feldmesser* (ed. Blume, Lachmann, Mommsen, Rudorph), i, 287. (Quoted by Schulten in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumskunde*, Art. *Groma*.)

[22] Juli Frontini *De Arte Mensoria* (*Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, ed. Thulin, 16 and 17).

[23] Περὶ Διόπτρας, xxxiii (pp. 288-290).

lie are absolutely perpendicular to each other." This is because insufficient care has been taken to see that the cross of the Groma is absolutely level; and Hero goes on to show, by a geometrical figure and demonstration, that correct results cannot be obtained under such conditions.

B. THE "DIOPTRA"

Like the modern Engineer's Transit, the "Dioptra" was adapted not merely to the measuring or laying off of horizontal angles, but of vertical ones as well, and it could also be used as a leveling instrument.

The Dioptra was of Greek origin, and the only description we have of the instrument was written in Greek, by Hero of Alexandria.[24] The Dioptra was, however, used by Roman surveyors at least as early as the beginning of the Empire, for it is specifically mentioned by Vitruvius,[25] who had served as a military engineer under Julius Caesar.

Most modern authorities seem to think that the Roman form of the Dioptra was inferior to the type described by Hero. But the elder Pliny[26] refers to the use of Dioptras in making astronomical measurements, from which one would infer that the Roman instrument was as fully equipped as the Greek one for taking accurate observations.

Hero's treatise on the Dioptra fills some sixty-six pages in the Teubner edition; unfortunately, however, certain extremely important details concerning the construction of the instrument are lacking, and the editor of the text, Dr. Hermann Schöne, is of the opinion that a portion of the earliest manuscript of the work (estimated by him as being either two or four entire pages) had been lost before the extant copy was made. From the existing portions of Hero's description of the instrument itself, and from his very full explanation of its use in solving most of the problems of plane surveying and leveling, Dr. Schöne has made a complete reconstruction of the Greek Dioptra, which, in the absence of any definite evidence to the contrary, we can regard as applicable to the Roman instrument also.

According to Hero, instead of a tripod the Dioptra had for support a small pillar, probably some five or six feet in height. His account does not tell how this pillar was made to stand firmly in a vertical position, but a manuscript drawing (See Fig. 9) shows three metallic cones projecting obliquely

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[24] Ἥρωνος Ἀλεξανδρέως Περὶ Διόπτρας (*Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia;* vol. iii, *Rationes Dimetiendi et Commentatio Dioptrica*: recensuit Hermannus Schoene. Leipzig, 1908).

[25] *De Architectura,* 8, 5.

[26] *Naturalis Historia,* 2, 69, 69.

In the short but very interesting account given by Ernest McCullough, in Chapter VI of his *Practical Surveying,* of the evolution of the Engineer's Transit from the Dioptra, the author refers to the latter instrument as a large surveyor's cross for setting out perpendiculars. Like most other writers on this subject, he seems to have confused the Roman type of Dioptra, in part at least, with the Groma. Such confusion was almost unavoidable, in view of the infrequent and vague references made to the Dioptra by Roman writers, and the fact that the real nature of the Groma was not understood until within the last decade.

from the bottom of the pillar, somewhat resembling the shoes of three tripod-legs, so that it was probably manipulated in much the same manner as a modern tripod. The drawing also shows a plummet for determining the verticality of the pillar, exactly like the device that Hero describes later in connection with the leveling-rod.

"The construction of the Dioptra," says Hero, "is as follows. A support is made in the form of a small pillar, having a round spindle projecting from its top. Around this spindle is fitted a circular bronze plate whose center is the same as that of the spindle. Furthermore, over the spindle is set a bronze cylinder, which can revolve smoothly around the spindle, and which has a cogged wheel firmly attached to its under side, somewhat less in diameter than the cylinder itself. On its upper side the cylinder has a plinth, made, for the sake of appearance, in the form of the capital of a small Doric column. Engaging the teeth of the cog-wheel, is a small tangent-screw, the supports of which are made fast to the large bronze plate. . . . . On top of the plinth are two vertical bronze standards, far enough apart so that another cog-wheel [or half-wheel] can be fitted in the space between them; and on the top of this same plinth, and between the bases of the standards, a tangent-screw is made to turn, being held in place by small supports fastened to the face of the plinth. . . . . In the space between the standards [and fastened to the upper end of the cog-wheel, which was either semicircular in shape or else flattened on the upper side], a bar is fitted, some four cubits [about six feet] in length, and of such breadth and thickness that it will fit the space [between the standards] and that this point will divide its length into two equal parts. In the upper surface of the bar a groove is cut, semicircular or rectangular in cross-section, and long enough to receive a bronze tube about twelve dactyls [eight inches] shorter than the bar itself. To the two ends of the bronze tube are joined two other vertical tubes, so that it looks as if the long tube were bent upward at each end. The height of these vertical pieces must not be more than two dactyls [one and one-third inches]. Next, the bronze tube must be covered with a flat bar, which will fit over the groove in such a way as not only to hold the bronze tube firmly in place but also to improve the appearance of the instrument. To each of the vertical ends of the tube already mentioned a small [hollow] glass cylinder is fitted,

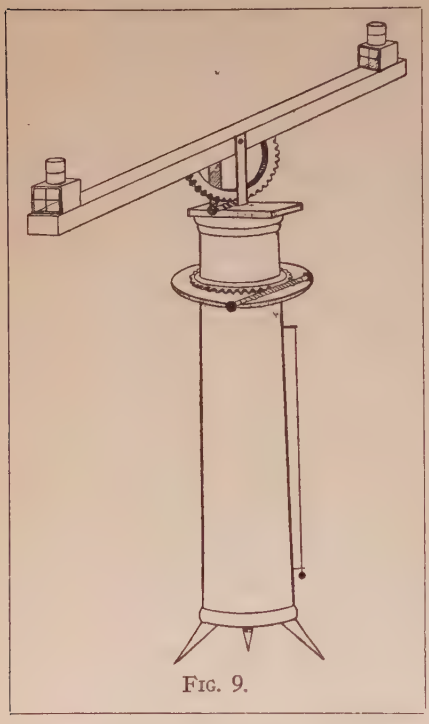

FIG. 9.

of like thickness with the tube itself and about twelve dactyls in height. Then the glass cylinders are made absolutely fast to the vertical ends of the tube, with wax or some other covering, so that when water is poured in through one of the cylinders it cannot leak out anywhere. The long bar is fitted with

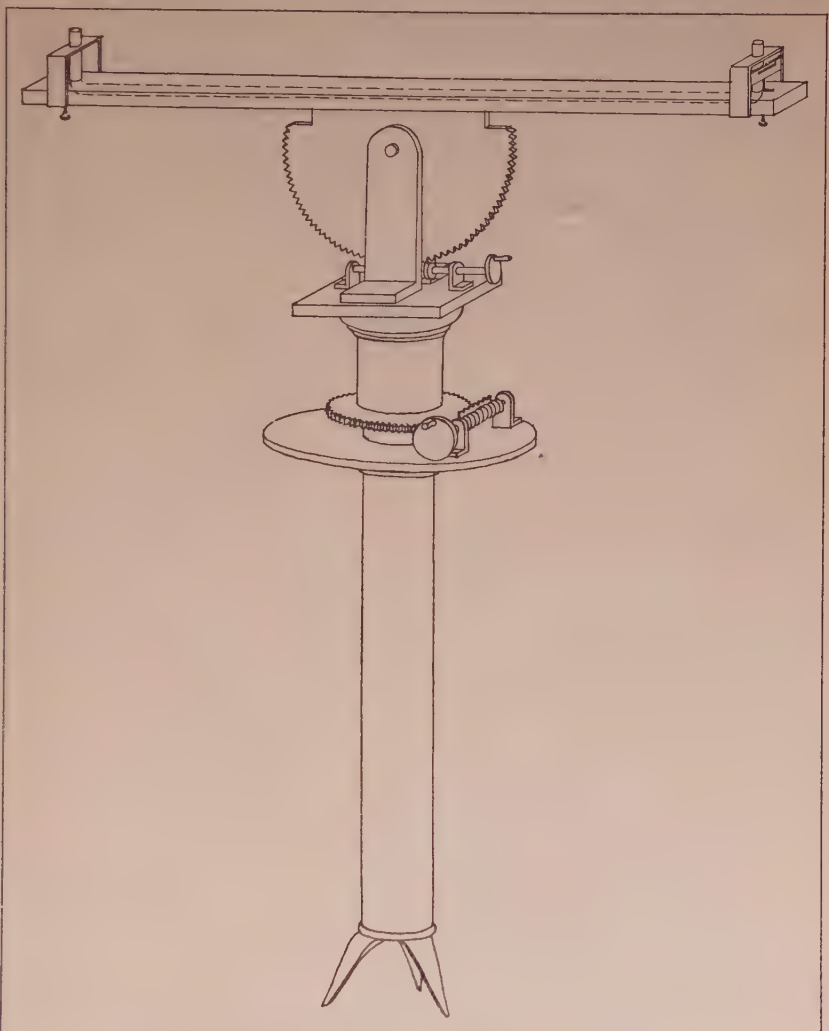

FIG. 10. Hero's Dioptra (Adapted from Schöne).

two small frames at the points where the glass cylinders stand, in such a way that the cylinders pass through the frames and are firmly held in place by them. In these frames are set small bronze plates, which slide up and down in channels cut in the walls of the frames; they have slits cut in their centers, through which sights may be taken. On the bottom of each of these plates is fastened a small cylinder, about half a dactyl in height, and into these little

cylinders are fitted revolving rods of bronze, the length of which is the same as the height of the frames around the glass cylinders. These rods extend down through holes made in the grooved bar. A thread is cut in each of these rods, engaging a small nut that is made fast to the bar. Thus, then, if one turns the part of the rod that projects below the bar, the metal plate with its opening for sighting, will be moved up or down; for the end of the rod next to the metal plate is provided with a small head which fills a little socket cut on the inside of the cylinder."

From this description, it appears that the Dioptra was designed primarily to be used as a leveling instrument, and I shall speak of it further under that head. (See page 238.) But from the large number of problems in surveying and astronomy[27] that Hero lists as capable of being solved with the aid of the Dioptra, it is clear that the instrument also possessed some of the properties of the modern transit. Hero speaks of describing a circle on the large plate[28] and dividing this circle into three hundred and sixty degrees, so that angles could be definitely measured by revolving the sighting-bar over the plate. From

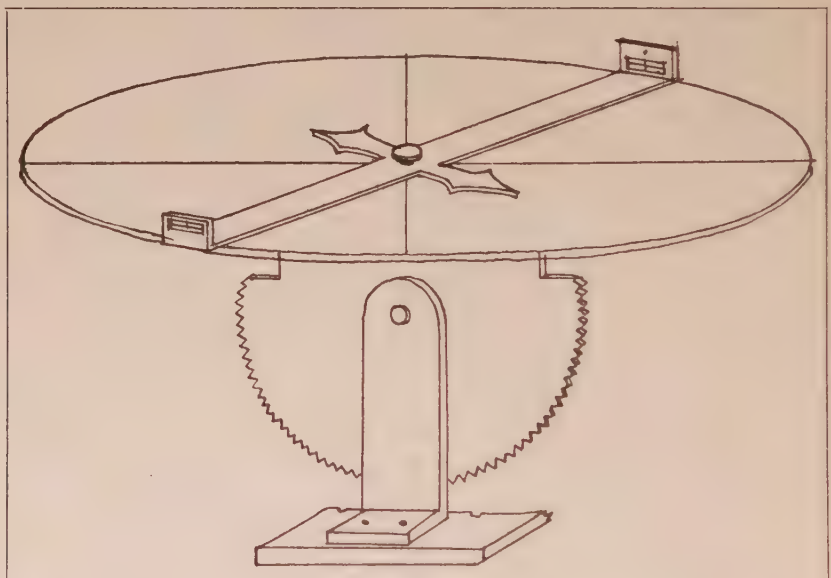

FIG. 11. Attachment for Reading Angles, as Conceived by Schöne.

[27] Among these are the following: To find the horizontal distance and the difference in elevation between two inaccessible points; to calculate the length and direction of a tunnel to be cut through a hill, when the two extremities of the tunnel have been determined; to locate the point on top of a hill from which a vertical shaft can be sunk so as to strike a tunnel running through the hill; from a single point inside a given tract of irregular shape, to subdivide this tract into smaller tracts of any desired number and size; to measure a field without entering it; to determine the width of a stream when the further bank is inaccessible; to measure the angular distance between two stars, etc.

[28] Περὶ Διόπτρας, xxxii (pp. 286-288).

this statement, Schöne concludes that a separate attachment was used for this purpose. (See Fig. 11.) But it would be equally possible to describe the circle on the plate that was fastened directly to the top of the supporting pillar; then a short pointer, projecting from the lower edge of the revolving bronze cylinder to the circumference of the inscribed and divided circle, would enable the observer to read the angle. Such an arrangement would obviate the necessity for any additional attachment.

It was only in connection with astronomical observations, however, that the ancients actually measured angles in terms of degrees. There appears to be no record of such measurement being made for other purposes, though the Dioptra certainly had some mark or attachment for setting off right angles. Trigonometry, it is true, had already been developed to a considerable extent by the Greeks before the beginning of the Christian era, but it was used by them only as an aid to astronomy. For all kinds of terrestrial surveying the principles of geometry only were employed by Greek and Roman surveyors, as in chain surveying at the present day. Even had the ancients possessed such aids to accurate measurement as the telescope or the vernier, the Roman system of numerical notation (as well as the Greek one) was too complicated and clumsy to permit any general use of involved arithmetical or trigonometrical formulas and tables.

A single problem in plane surveying will serve as an illustration of the trigonometrical method used by a modern surveyor equipped with a transit, and the geometrical one employed by a Greek or Roman engineer using either the Dioptra or the Groma. Hero states the problem thus:[29] "Given two visible [and accessible] points to determine the horizontal distance between them, also their positions."

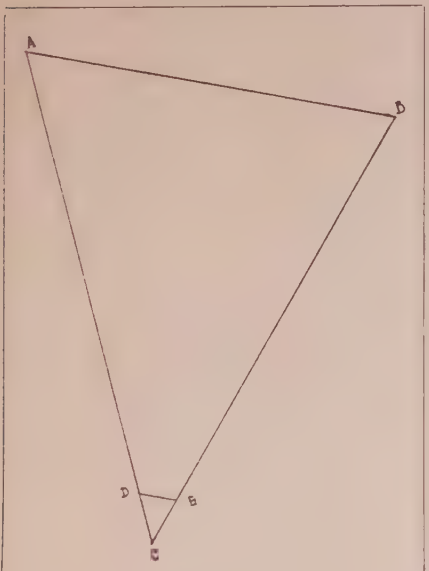

FIG. 12.

A modern engineer might set up his transit at any point, C, (Fig. 12) from which A and B, the two points in question are visible and accessible, read the angle C, and measure AC and BC. He might then obtain the angles A and B and the length of AB by using the following formulas:

$$\tan \tfrac{1}{2}(A-B)=\tan \tfrac{1}{2}(A+B).\ \frac{BC-AC}{BC+AC}.$$

$$\tfrac{1}{2}(A+B)+\tfrac{1}{2}(A-B)=A;\ \tfrac{1}{2}(A+B)-\tfrac{1}{2}(A-B)=B.$$

$$AB=BC\frac{\sin C}{\sin A}.$$

[29] *Ibid.*, x (pp. 222-226).

Hero, on the other hand, gives the following three methods for solving the problem:

"Let A and B be the two given points (see Fig. 13), and let the Dioptra be set up at C, the point where we are standing; and let the sighting-bar be revolved until the point A is visible through it. The line AC is, then, a straight line. At right angles to this line, I lay off, by means of the Dioptra, the line CD. I keep moving the Dioptra along this line until the point B appears through the sighting-bar when this is set at right angles [to CD]. The Dioptra now happens to be at E; therefore, BE is perpendicular to CD, and AC is parallel to BE. Now I measure the distance from C to A, and likewise that from E to B. If, now, the distance AC happens to be equal to the distance BE, I will also decide that the distance CE is equal to AB. But we can measure CE, for it is on the side where we are standing. Suppose, now, that the distances are not equal, but that BE is, say, twenty cubits shorter than AC; in that case, I extend BE from E, where we stand, twenty cubits, giving EF. Then AC and BF will be equal. But they are also parallel, so AB is equal and parallel to CF. We can measure CF, which will give [the length of] AB, and it is clear that we can determine the position of AB, since we have found a line parallel to it."

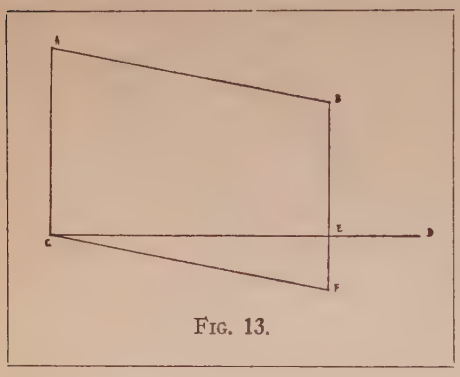

FIG. 13.

His second and third methods are simpler than the first.

"I set up my Dioptra," he says, "at any convenient point, say, at C (see Fig. 12). Now I lay off with the Dioptra the line AC, and likewise BC. I measure off from C a certain portion of AC, one-tenth, for example, giving CD; likewise, the same fraction of BC, giving CE. Then a line joining D and E must equal one-tenth of the length of AB and also be parallel to AB. I can now measure DE, since it lies in our vicinity. Thus I have both the position and the length of AB.

"But it is possible to determine the distance AB in still another manner. I set up the Dioptra at C (see Fig. 14), and extend the line AC by any convenient fraction of its length, giving CD; and in the same manner I extend the line BC by a like fraction of its length, giving CE. Then DE is a like fraction of AB and parallel to it. Now I can measure DE, and the position and length of AB will be found."

Just how sights for making measurements in a horizontal plane were taken with the sighting-bar is not fully explained by Hero. If, as Schöne thinks, a separate attachment was used for this purpose (see Fig. 11), it was probably equipped with cross-hairs or cross-wires, or it may have had something like the sight-vanes of a Surveyor's Compass, furnished with vertical slits. But if no special attachment was required for laying off lines and angles in a

horizontal plane, the same movable plates or vanes must then have been used that were employed in leveling. (See page 228.) The manuscript drawing of the Dioptra (see Fig. 9) shows what looks like a set of cross-wires in each of the frames at the ends of the sighting-bar, but these lines may have been intended to represent cross-slits cut in the movable plates. However, whether they were wires or slits, the two vertical ones could not have stood directly in

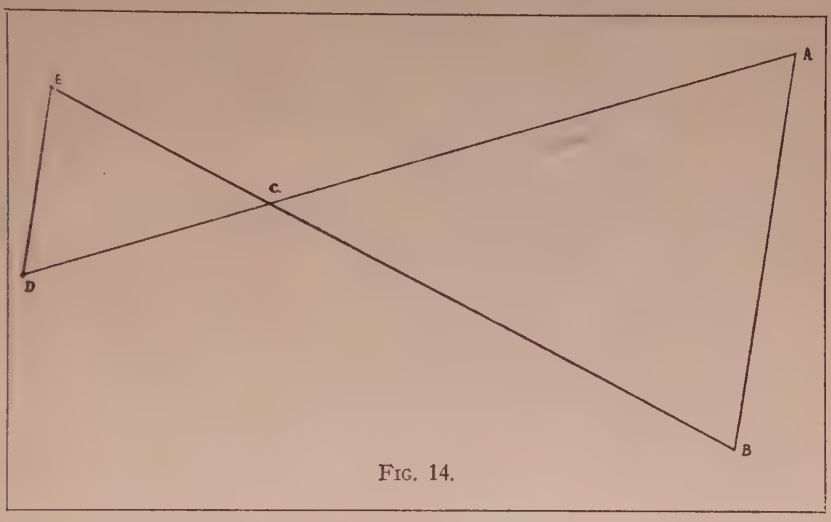

FIG. 14.

line with the vertical glass tubes of the water-level, as the drawing seems to indicate. The bronze and glass tubes may have been located a little to one side of the longitudinal median line of the bar, but parallel to it; or the vertical slit, or wire, or hair, in each of the frames may have been a little to one side of the line of the tubes. But even if the line of sight passed half an inch to one side of the horizontal axis of the Dioptra, this slight deviation would not affect the accuracy of the instrument as much as a trifling maladjustment of the telescope standards may affect the accuracy of a modern transit. When a back-sight is taken with a transit, in running a long "tangent," such lack of perfect adjustment may cause serious errors, whether the telescope be "plunged" or the horizontal plate revolved through 180 degrees. But to take a back-sight with the Dioptra, it was merely necessary for the ancient surveyor to step around to the other end of the sighting-bar, without having to move any part of the instrument, as both fore-sights and back-sights could be taken from either end of the bar.

IV

INSTRUMENTS FOR MEASURING OR LAYING OFF VERTICAL ANGLES

A. The "Lychnia"

Sextus Julius Africanus and Hero the Younger mention a device for measuring altitudes, which was so simple in construction and so easy to use that it must have been employed long before the invention of more complicated instruments, like the Dioptra. We do not know what the Romans called it, but in Greek it was known by the somewhat fanciful name of Λυχνία, or "lamp-stand." This instrument is described by De Rochas,[30] who follows the accounts of the two writers just named.

The Lychnia consisted merely of a ruler or bar, the center of which was loosely fastened to the side of a Jacob's staff, near the top of the latter, so

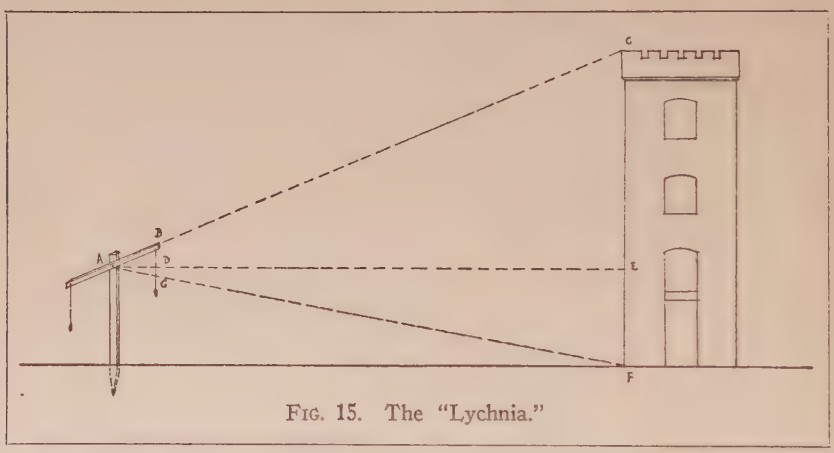

Fig. 15. The "Lychnia."

that the bar could be revolved in a vertical plane. Plumb-bobs were suspended from each end of the bar. To ascertain the height of any perpendicular object, such as a tower for instance, whose base was accessible, the instrument was first set up at a convenient distance from the tower; next (according to De Rochas), the bar was brought into a horizontal position and a sight taken along the top of it to the point E (see Fig. 15), which was then marked; the distance AE was measured, also the height EF. (De Rochas does not explain how the position of D was preserved; but all that would be necessary would be to stretch a string from A to E and fasten it at both ends.) The bar was next revolved until the line of sight struck C, the top of the tower. BD and AD were measured. Then, CE : BD=AE : AD. CE+EF=the height of the tower.

A simpler method would have been to omit AE and EF altogether, to

[30] In Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (Art. *Geodesia*).

sight first at F, stretch a string from A to F and measure it, then sight at G and measure BG and AG. Then, CF : BG=AF : AG.

B. THE DIOPTRA

As we have already seen from Hero's description, the sighting-bar of the Dioptra could be revolved in either a horizontal or a vertical plane, so that this instrument could be used exactly like the Lychnia in measuring altitudes, in establishing grades by "shooting in" or "plunging" instead of leveling, etc.

V

LEVELING INSTRUMENTS

Ancient leveling instruments fall into two classes: (1) those depending on the principle that a line perpendicular to a vertical line is a horizontal line, and (2) those depending on the principle that the surface of a liquid in repose is horizontal. In those of the first class, some kind of a plumb-line was always used; those of the second class were furnished with either a groove or a tube, into which water was poured.

A. The "Norma" or Square

The carpenter's or mason's square, or "Norma," was made in several styles, almost any one of which could be used for taking short sights in leveling. Figure 16 shows one form of the Norma.[31] When a plumb-line suspended from the hole in the short arm at the top exactly covered the narrow vertical groove cut across the oblique leg and the cross-bar, a sight could be taken along the top of the short arm or along any straight-edge on which the two legs rested.

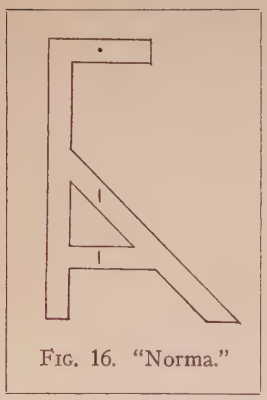

Fig. 16. "Norma."

B. The "Libella" or Level

One form of hand-level used by carpenters and masons and called the "Libella" (see Fig. 17) could also be employed as a surveyor's level. In principle, it resembled the Norma; and in form and use, it was practically identical with the modern miner's triangle.[32] It consisted of three bars firmly fastened together in the form of a capital A, and so adjusted that when the two feet rested on a horizontal plane a plumb-line suspended from the apex of the two legs would exactly cover a vertical line drawn across the front of the cross-bar. Sights were taken along the upper surface of this cross-bar.

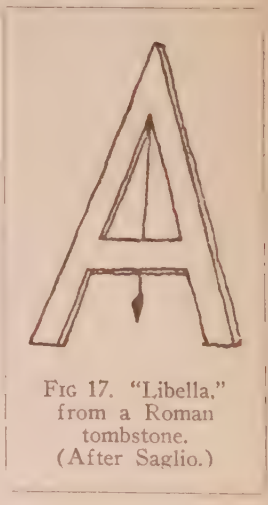

Fig 17. "Libella," from a Roman tombstone. (After Saglio.)

C. The "Chorobates"

The "Chorobates," (see Fig. 18) like the two instruments just described, was brought into a horizontal position with the aid of plumb-lines; but, unlike the others, it could also be adjusted by applying the principle that the surface of a liquid at rest is horizontal.

[31] *Ibid.*, iv, 102 (Art. *Norma*).

[32] "The early miners in California set grade pegs on hundreds of miles of ditches and roads with this primitive instrument." Ernest McCullough, *Practical Surveying*, p. 74.

Vitruvius particularly recommends the use of the Chorobates in leveling, considering it superior in accuracy to both the Dioptra and the "Water Level."[33]

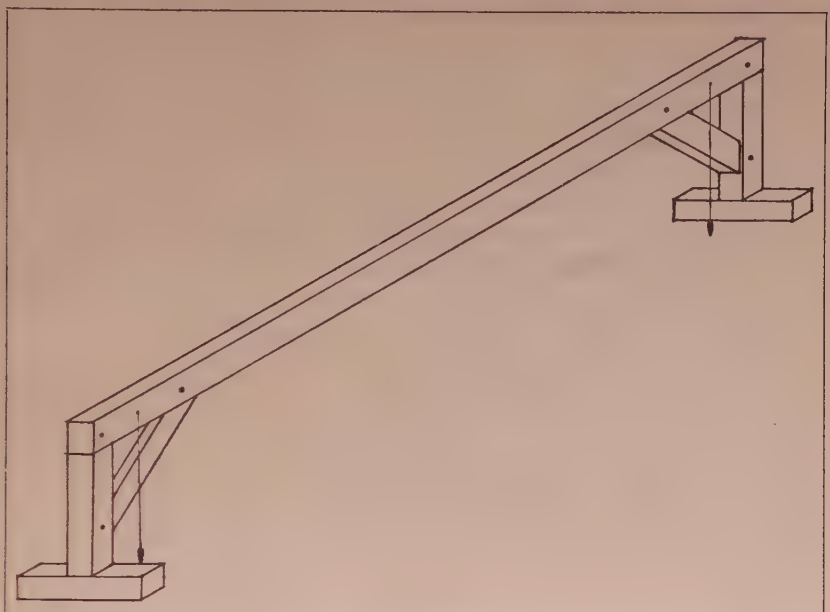

FIG. 18. The "Chorobates."

"The Chorobates," he says, "is a straight-edge about twenty feet long. It has legs, both made in the same manner and fastened perpendicularly to the ends of the straight-edge; also braces mortised to the straight-edge and the legs. These braces have marks drawn vertically across them, also plumb-lines hanging across them, one from each end of the straight-edge. When the straight-edge is in adjustment these plumb-lines will touch the vertical marks on the braces simultaneously, showing that the instrument is level. But if the wind interferes and because of the constant motion of the lines it is impossible to get an exact adjustment, then let the straight-edge have a groove in its upper surface, five feet long, a digit wide, and a digit and a half deep. Let water be poured into this groove; if the water touches the upper edges of the groove uniformly, it will be known that the straight-edge is level."

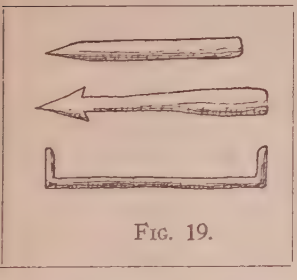

FIG. 19.

[33] *De Architectura,* 8, 5.

Just what Vitruvius means by "water-levels" ("libris aquariis") is uncertain. Some sort of an air-bubble-level may possibly have been known to the Romans, at least in later times, as a picture from a fourth century inscription found near Rome shows an object somewhat resembling a modern spirit level. (See Fig. 19, from Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines,* Art. *Libella.*) But the expedient that he recommends for use in windy weather makes the Chorobates itself a water-level.

D. THE DIOPTRA

The greater length of the plane by which the surveyor directed his line of sight may have rendered the Chorobates more accurate as a leveling instrument than the Dioptra, but certainly the former must have been exceedingly cumbersome and awkward to handle. It could be brought into adjustment only by slowly and cautiously wedging or blocking up one end till the plumb-lines finally settled over the vertical marks on the sides of the braces. Furthermore, it would have to be readjusted whenever two or more sights were taken from the same station at different horizontal angles.

The Dioptra, on the other hand, with its two tangent screws and its two screws for raising and lowering the sighting-plates, was probably capable of being adjusted and manipulated almost as rapidly as a modern Dumpy level.

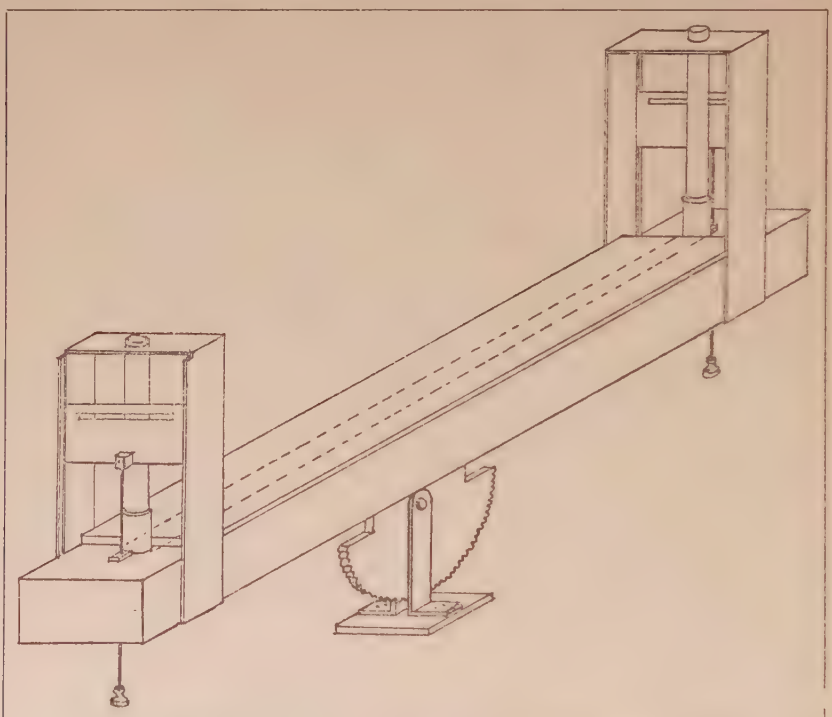

FIG. 20. Sighting-bar of the Dioptra. (Adapted from Schöne.)

The construction of the two bronze sighting-plates is described in the extract from Hero's treatise on the Dioptra given on page 228. Schöne's edition of that work contains several drawings of that portion of the instrument, one of which is reproduced here, with slight changes. (See Fig. 20.) In sighting, the screws under each plate were turned until the horizontal slit in each was exactly opposite the surface of the column of water in the glass cylinder before it.[34] (See Fig. 21.)

[34] Περὶ Διόπτρας, vi, (p. 206.)

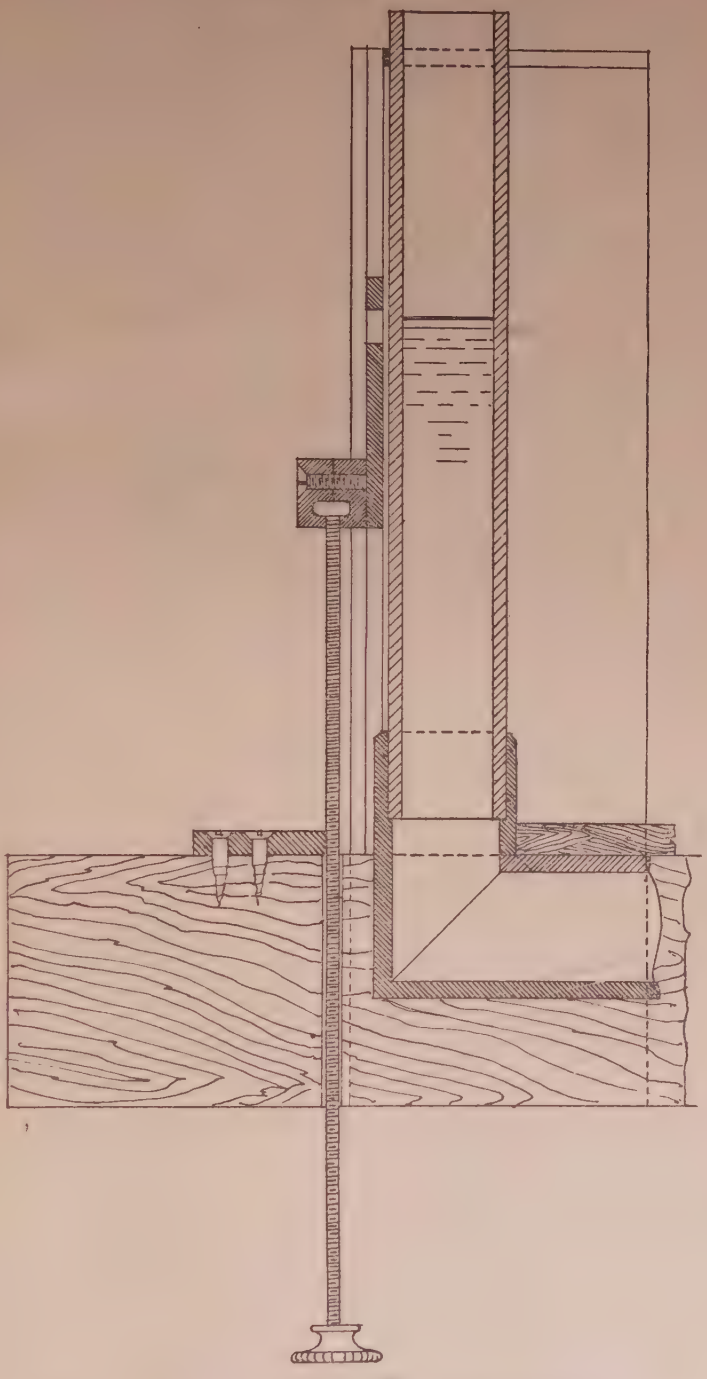

FIG. 21. Cross-section of Sighting-plate, Frame, Water-tube, etc. (After Schöne.)

E. LEVELING RODS

According to Hero's description, the leveling rods used by the ancients were not very dissimilar to those in use at the present day. The lack of the telescope precluded the use of "self-reading" rods, hence target-rods only are mentioned. After concluding his account of the Dioptra itself, Hero continues thus:[35]

"The construction of the Dioptra having been explained, we will now speak of the rods and targets employed in connection with it. Two rods[36] are prepared, about ten cubits [a little over fourteen feet] in length, five dactyls [about four inches] in breadth, and three dactyls [a little more than two inches] in thickness. Down the middle of the broad side of each of these rods, throughout its whole length, a dovetail groove is cut, with its narrower side outward. Inside this groove is fitted a slide, in such a manner that it can move easily along the groove without falling out. To this slide is nailed a target having a diameter of from ten to twelve dactyls [seven and a half to nine inches]. The circular face of this target being divided by a line drawn at right angles to the length of the rod, one semicircle is painted white, the other black. To the slide there is fastened a cord which passes over a pulley mounted on the upper end of the rod, and down the side of the rod opposite to the one where the target is placed. Now, if you rest the rod in a vertical position on the ground and pull the cord from the back side, then you will move the target upward; but if you let the cord out, then the target is carried downward by its own weight; for the target should have a lead plate nailed to the back of it, so as to be carried down automatically. Next, the rod must be carefully marked off, beginning from the lower end, into as many cubits, palms and dactyls[37] as are included

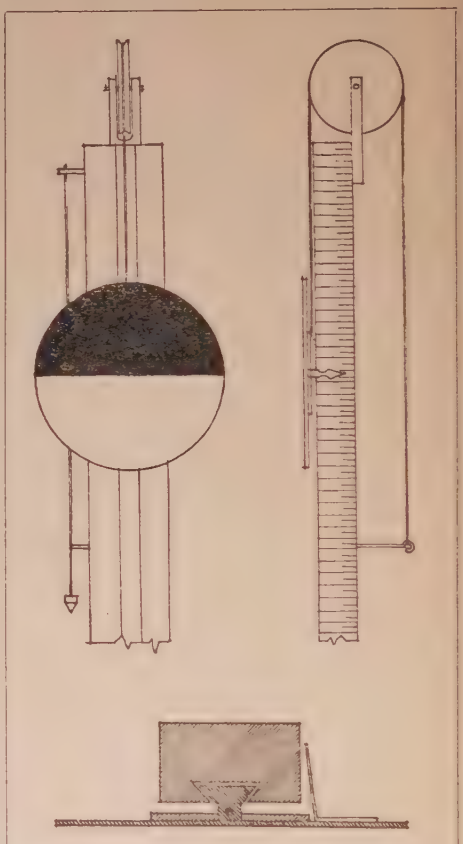

FIG. 22. Hero's Leveling Rod, Front and Side Views and Cross-section. (After Schöne.)

[35] *Ibid.*, v, (p. 205.)

[36] Two rodmen were evidently employed, as is frequently the case nowadays, to save time between back-sights and fore-sights.

[37] These are Greek, not Roman, units of measurement. A cubit (πῆχυς, "forearm") was about 17.46 inches, a palm (παλαιστή) a trifle over 2.9 inches, and a dactyl

in its length; and at each point of division lines are cut in the side of the rod to the right of the target. The target will also have a pointer fastened to [the back of] it at the height of its horizontal diameter, and this pointer will reach to the lines cut in the side of the rod. The rods may be held on the ground in a perfectly vertical position in the following manner: On the side of the rod opposite the one where the measuring scale has been cut is fastened a peg about three dactyls long. Near its outer end a hole is bored through from above, to receive a cord having a plumb-bob hanging from it. Further down the rod another peg is fastened, the end of which is the same distance out from the rod as the hole just mentioned. In the outer end of the latter peg a vertical notch is cut, and when the cord just fits into this notch it will show that the rod is in a vertical position." (See Fig. 22.)

Hero next describes the process of leveling, at considerable length. In principle, his methods are identical with those used by engineers and surveyors today. His first problem is, to find the difference in elevation between two points, A and B, separated by a considerable stretch of uneven ground, also, to find the relative elevations of some eight "turning-points" lying between A and B. This involves moving and adjusting the Dioptra eight times. To arrive at the final result he records all the back-sights in one column and all the fore-sights in another; the difference between the sums of the two sets of figures is the difference in elevation between the points A and B.

(δάκτυλος, "finger-breadth") about three-fourths of an inch. The πῆχυς corresponded roughly to the Roman "cubitum," the παλαιστή to the "palmus," and the δάκτυλος to the "digitus."

As different systems of linear measurement were long in vogue in different parts of the Empire, a Roman surveyor would ordinarily employ the system in use in the locality where he was working.

VI

ACCURACY OF THE WORK OF ROMAN SURVEYORS

As to the degree of accuracy attained by Roman surveyors and engineers, abundant evidence is furnished by such existing monuments as roads, bridges, aqueducts and public buildings. Two specific and striking examples of their efficiency, however, are given in an article published some years ago in *Nature*,[38] from which I have taken the liberty of making the following rather lengthy quotation:

"In the *Zeitschrift für Vermessungswesen* (Heft 21, 1911) Prof. E. Hammer discusses the precision with which the nations of antiquity were able to mark out lines on the surface of the earth with the means at their disposal. Taking, first, that portion of the frontier of the Roman Empire[39] which existed as a straight line about 80 kilometres long from near the River Rems in Württemburg to the district of Walldürn in Baden, he investigates the question whether this line was laid down approximately straight by chance, or whether it was intended to be a straight line, and special care was taken to arrive at this result. Points on the line were located and their position plotted on the cadastral maps (scale 1:2500), from which their coordinates were determined. From these, the direction-angle of portions of the line was calculated, and also the mean departure of points on the boundary line from a true straight line. For a portion amounting to 29 kilometres of the whole length, the mean error in position of a point on the boundary was found to be ± 2 metres, which indicates a surprising accuracy in carrying such a line over rough ground, while for a portion of it an even greater precision was attained.[40] Further observations by Prof. Leonhard, not yet published, on the remaining 50 kilometres of the boundary, indicate that the same accuracy is there maintained. The Romans must have fixed a few principal points in prominent positions by signals at night, and then interpolated intermediate points; the observed accuracy could never have been attained by prolonging a line.

"A second case is that of the amphitheatre at Pola,[41] laid out by a Roman architect or land-surveyor, which has been recently studied by an Austrian surveyor, Herr Hofrath A. Broch. Using a plan on a scale of 1:250, he investigated the accuracy with which the amphitheatre as constructed approached an ellipse. Taking twelve points on the curve, their mean error in position from an ellipse was but 15 cm., in spite of the weathered surfaces of the stone contributing to the uncertainty. The axes of this ellipse were $2a = 129.9$ m. and $2b = 102.6$ m., or in the ratio of very nearly 9:7, as in the case of many Roman amphitheatres."

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[38] Vol. 88, p. 158; Nov. 30, 1911.

[39] Surveyed, marked and fortified by order of the Emperor Domitian.
Cf. Julius Frontinus, *Strategematon*, 1, 3, 10.

[40] Compare the provisions of the offical instructions for the survey of the public lands of the United States, which permit, in closing up the sides of a township, a lateral error of 50 links, a trifle over ten metres, in a six-mile meridional or latitudinal section line, or about nine and two-thirds kilometres.

[41] The city of Pola, situated about 50 miles south of Trieste, was destroyed by Augustus, but afterward rebuilt by him at the request of his daughter Julia, and renamed Pietas Julia in her honor. The amphitheatre to which reference is made was built about 200 A. D. and is remarkable as being the only Roman amphitheatre whose outer walls have been preserved intact.

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